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## THE DISCOVERY OF MARYLAND

OR

## VERRAZZANO'S VISIT TO THE EASTERN SHORE.

HARRY FRANKLIN COVINGTON

(Read before the Society, April 12, 1915.)

When in March, 1634, Lord Baltimore's colonists sailed up the Potomac on the Ark and the Dove and settled at St. Mary's, they doubtless cared little for their one hundred and thirty odd miles of distant seacoast. Their immediate work lay closer by, and their settlement grew first naturally in the Chesapeake Bay regions. After the middle of the century, when they turned their faces east and began in earnest to occupy and to govern the seaside, they were opposed by shrewd men with plans of their own. All that the diplomacy of Governor Calvert and the energy of Colonel William Stevens, of Somerset, and their successors have been able to preserve of this large ocean frontier from stranger claimants is the thirty odd miles of beach land without a deep harbor, comprising the easterly boundary of Worcester County. A little wedge between two states open to the sea, but picturesque and full of ancient interest. Its early history has never been fully written, and much of it is now, no doubt, lost in the mists. We are to take here a coastal view of our state history, beginning at a time before either the St. Mary's or Jamestown settlements.

There is a peculiar fascination in the rediscovery and collection of small facts or items which may perhaps have escaped notice or slipped the memory, and in bringing them together so as to suggest a partly lost or forgotten history. All history is lost or forgotten which is not written down. No written records, no history. And all written records which are inaccessible or inarticulate are for the time as good as lost.

Who, first among Europeans, set foot upon the island beaches of the Maryland coast we do not know. The native inhabitant still clings to the tradition that it was most likely some sailor on that shipwrecked Spanish vessel which gave to the island of Chincoteague her famous wild ponies; and still believes that the master genius of the Jamestown settlement, that indefatigable navigator, Captain John Smith, must have fully explored this coast. But these things history has failed to record.

On the contrary, we learn from the first known description of the Maryland province, published in London in 1634, that "of Hoggs wee have already got from Achomack (a plantation in Virginia), to the number of 100 and more; and some 30 coews; and more wee expect daily, with Gootes and Hennes; our Horses and Sheepe wee must have out of England, or some other place by the way, for wee can have none in Virginia." 1 We know, of course, that horses and domestic animals generally had to be imported; though by 1671 "horses, geldings, mares and colts" had so increased and were so destructive to cornfields that their importation was forbidden for three years by an Act of the Maryland Assembly. Perhaps the surplus horses of Somerset and Accomac were then turned loose in large numbers to range over the island marshes. The outlying beaches belonged to the county, and at one time were leased by the occupants of the bayside farms, to be "held of the Manor of Somerset." They were long used as a sort of pasture commons, to which live stock was transported from the mainland on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Grt. Eps. of Am. Hist., by F. W. Halsey, II, 130, reprinted from Old South Leaflets.

barges or scows; though, occasionally, in narrow places, as above Sinepuxent Neck, and at low water, wading was no doubt possible. Of course, domestic animals, allowed to run at large, were usually branded for identification by their owners. Indeed, before court-houses and prisons were ordered, generally (1674), animal marks of identification were sometimes placed on criminals. It has been established that horses were sometimes confined by planters in the necks of land in Virginia, and that even "pony pennings" were held.<sup>2</sup> In the absence of specific information as to the legendary shipwreck of the Spanish vessel, or of any mention of wild ponies found on the beaches by early settlers, we are forced, by the overwhelming general tendency of the evidence to the conclusion that the wild ponies originated from the mainland.

Long before Captain John Smith explored the Chesapeake Bay regions (he seems to have had little interest in the seaboard side), the easterly coast of the peninsula had been visited by Europeans. Yet the sweeping claims formerly made for the Cabots, based on Hakluyt and others, have been modified for lack of details and other supporting evidence. Hakluyt wrote to Raleigh from Paris on December 30, 1586, saying: "If you proceed, which I long much to know, in your enterprise of Virginia, your best planting will be about the Bay of the Thetespians [Chestepians, or Chesapeake], to which latitude, Peter Martyr and Franciscus Lopez de Gomara, the Spaniard, confess that one Gabot [Cabot] and the English did first discover; which the Spaniards hereafter cannot deny us, whensoever we shall be at peace with them." 3 But Sebastian Cabot (1474-1557), called by Winsor "The sphinx of North America," has left us no proof that he possessed a knowledge of the central coast of North America. Before 1550 Sebastian was in the service of Spain; and possibly his drawings or data of this coast, if they exist, may yet be uncovered in the Spanish Archives. Some authorities believe that Sebastian appro-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wise, J. C., Early Hist. of Va., 307.

<sup>3</sup> Brown's Gen. of U. S., 18.

priated to himself the discoveries of his father, John Cabot; but Fiske <sup>4</sup> thinks it probable that Sebastian accompanied his father on his expedition of 1496 and 1497. He probably knew New Foundland and South America, and when sailing South from the former he may have fringed the coast, and have occasionally sighted land; but what he saw we do not know.

Having thus referred to a tradition and a generalization as to the "discovery" of our seacoast, I shall pass on to the specific subject of this paper, which is the visit of Verrazzano to Arcadia in 1524. For, this new hero-discoverer has recently come to the front, and a part of the setting is our own seaboard side. It is thus fitting that we should inquire in what circumstances, and where he made his visit to the peninsula, and what he reported as having found on shore. Eleven years before this (March 27, 1513) that credulous old cavalier, Juan Ponce de Leon, when in quest of an imaginary Fountain of Youth, had discovered the land he called Florida, it being the day of the Feast of Flowers. A small opening in a long sandy beach, now called Anastasia Island, had enabled him to pass to the inland waters and effect a landing near the site of the later St. Augustine. In many ways the Florida coast at this point resembles the ocean frontier of early Maryland. Moreover, the survivors of Magellan's party had little more than reached home with the news of the discovery (October, 1520) of the straits named for the great navigator, before a French expedition was ready to embark from Dieppe on a similar errand further North.

#### II.

While acting as navigator for King Francis I. of France, and in search of a passage to Cathay, Giovanni da Verrazzano (1485-1527), of Florence, Italy, in 1524, sailed along the Atlantic coast of America between the 30th and the 50th degrees of latitude. We can state the fact more confidently than ever before. A very thorough and favorable examination of all

<sup>4</sup> Disc. of Am., 1, 5.

the evidence was made by Justin Winsor in 1884.<sup>5</sup> The recent publication, however, of an original account of this voyage, found unexpectedly in Italy, has amassed such further evidence as to place Verrazzano even more securely among our greatest discoverers. "There can be no doubt whatever as to Verrazzano's entering New York harbor in 1524," wrote John Fiske. And in 1910 a monument was erected in his honor by the Italian colony of New York at the southern end of Manhattan Island.

The close relation between the French and Italian courts at this time is perhaps sufficiently obvious. It will be remembered, too, that as early as 1493 Spain and Portugal had agreed to divide the unknown world between themselves. But it is not to be expected that this balance of power would be long maintained or always respected. Lord Bacon, in his essay on Empire, when speaking of the strong competing rulers, Charles V. of Spain, Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England, lays down the doctrine, familiar to modern world-politics, that it was the duty of a prince to annex territory whenever it seemed likely that a neighboring prince was about to do so. No wonder, then, that Henry VIII. founded the British Navy, or that we find King Francis I. of France (already at war with Charles V. in Italy) casting his eyes across the seas. Of course, his present motive was increased world knowledge, particularly the finding of a shorter way to the East! His navigator, however, laid the basis for a claim to the new-found territory by right of discovery, when he reported that "there appeared to us a new land never before seen by any one ancient or modern."

Had Francis then been able to occupy and defend his discoveries, the circumstances would now be sufficiently familiar. But, as you know, he was busily engaged in a long struggle with Charles; and, indeed, we first learn the story of his expedition through Verrazzano's own account of it, published by Ramusio in 1556. No settlements followed, and many details

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Nar. and Crit. Hist., IV, 1-30.

of his important voyage, of discovery and adventure, have remained buried in musty documents, and only half understood.

Verrazzano described his voyage in a letter to King Francis I., dated July 8, 1524, and sent copies of it to various friends. His claim to recognition now rests on three copies of this letter. One was printed by Ramusio in 1556, and was translated for Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages" of 1582. A second copy was found in the Strozzi Library in Florence, and published in 1841 by the New York Historical Society, with a translation by J. G. Cogswell. The third and new copy, above referred to, is now in the possession of Count Guilo Macchi di Cellere of Rome, and was first published in Italy, with comments by Prof. Alis. Bacchiani, in 1909. This was translated in English by Edward Hegeman Hall, Secretary of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, and was printed in that society's report for 1910.

Dr. Hall's translation of this new letter, together with the scholarly critique, has made necessary the revision of much that was written of Verrazzano before 1910. Now Giovanni da Verrazzano, the Florentine, is not Jean Florin the Gascon pirate of La Rochelle. It takes so long to correct a historic mistake once made, let me repeat that "the splendid publication of Pergallo with the Portuguese documents, buried for all time the fable of Verrazzano, pirate and hanged man." Moreover, the discoverer emerges as a gentleman and man of culture, fully conscious that he had discovered a new continent. the great value of the letter, according to Dr. Hall, lies in "confirming the voyage itself, and in supplying a wealth of details not known to exist." Though neglecting degrees of latitude and dealing only in round numbers for distance like other accounts, this account can be clearly followed by the aid of the notes from the Carolinas to Maine.

Briefly, the "Dauphine," a caravel of 800 tons, and carrying a crew of 50 men, was fitted out by 1523, at Dieppe, France.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The second copy was subsequently transferred to the Magliabechian, now the National Library of Florence.

Leaving the Madeira Islands on January 17th of the following year, and voyaging 4,400 miles, Verrazzano saw land on March 7th in latitude 34°, or off the coast of North Carolina. After exploring south he returned to 34°, where he makes his first landing, and named the region Selva de Lauri, Woods of Laurel, and the next Campo di Cedri, Field of Cedars. Following the coast East, and North, he mistook the strip of land inclosing Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds for an isthmus, "Isthmus Verrazanio," separating the Atlantic Ocean from a supposed Oriental Sea. This supposed isthmus was a mile in width and 200 miles long, and the land was called "Annunciata." Continuing North "in the space of 50 leagues" (or 200 miles by his reckoning of four miles to a league), he came "to another land, which appeared much more beautiful and full of the largest forests," (Arcadia). Here he set off a landing party of 20 men, who penetrated eight miles inland. After a stay of three days off shore he proceeded North, carefully examining the coast of New Jersey, and scattering names as he went along. At the end of 100 leagues he named New York Bay Santa Margherita, and so on, as far as the 32 islands of Maine.

Thus he has given us our first connected description of the coast of the present United States. Unfortunately, however, he fell into an error which it took geographers a half century to correct. That which ye seek ye shall find—was often true of the discoverers. Oh! what a fatality to mankind when Ponce de Leon, after quaffing from his life-guaranteeing subterranean bubble, died so soon from a poisoned dart. Verrazzano, you remember, was really looking for the canal which we have just dug at Panama, but his zeal and imagination deceived him into thinking that he had found an isthmus and a great inland sea in the neighborhood of the Carolinas. Our chief concern at present is with his observations upon the coast of Maryland.

#### III.

A careful exposition of what is of special importance to Maryland in this account, accompanied by a study of certain local material, will naturally show a variance with much that has been previously written and correct some errors. For instance, the idea that the Oriental Sea was the Chesapeake Bay. "The coast turns to the East and then to the North," says Prof. Bacchiani. "We are at Cape Hatteras and Pamlico Sound. Does Verrazzano take this expanse of water for another ocean which extends beyond the bank? So must we believe according to what we learn from the addition of the Codex R, from the map of Maggioli, from that of Gerolamo de Verrazzano, brother of the voyager, and from all their deductions." As to the text itself, it is a recognized canon of interpretation that physical landmarks should prevail over such things as distance and degrees of longitude, so often in error. This account calls clearly for two physical landmarks, an isthmus 200 miles long, and an inland sea. Verrazzano's isthmus must, therefore, refer to the Hatteras strip, and the Oriental Sea to the body of water which it encloses. The reference to the coast of Maryland is clearly the region "50 leagues," or 200 miles north of this, where he set off a party of twenty men to explore the surrounding country, also capable of identification by its physical character. This location for Maryland and Virginia is so accepted by the two editors of the voyager's letter who attempted a regional designation of the coast.

Cogswell, the editor of the Strozzi letter of 1841, made no attempt to identify the whole seacoast, and so threw no light on Verazzano's landing on the Maryland peninsula. But in 1850 John Winter Jones, editor of the Hakluyt publication, indicated by footnotes the precise parts of the coast referred to in that version. He stated that, after leaving North Carolina and before reaching New York harbor, Verrazzano visited the coast at "about latitude 38° North." The southerly boundary of Worcester county at the coast is 38°. Moreover, the Cogswell text had spoken of finding grapes here in April, which, of course, was entirely too tropical for either Maryland or Virginia; but the Hakluyt version removed this difficulty by speaking of them as dried fruit.

Fortunately now, the new Cellere account further identifies this region by calling it Arcadia. He baptized it "Arcadia on account of the beauty of the trees;" which Prof. Bacchiani fully accepts as a designation of the Eastern Shore, remarking that Arcadia is a name often poetically applied to Virginia and Maryland today. Now this letter, though giving substantially the details, for this region, of the other known accounts, adds the following new matter:

"... Having remained in this place three days, anchored off the coast, we decided on account of the scarcity of ports to depart, always skirting the shore, which we baptized Arcadia on account of the beauty of the trees, toward the north and east, navigating by daylight and casting anchor at night." [In this sentence only the clause "which we baptized Arcadia on account of the beauty of the trees" is new. Compare Hak. Soc. 7, 62, and N. Y. Hist. Coll., N. S. I., 45.]

"In Arcadia we found a man who came to the shore to see what people we were; who stood hesitating and ready for flight. Watching us, he did not permit himself to be approached. He was handsome, nude, with hair fastened back in a knot, of olive color.

"We were about XX (in number), ashore and coaxing him he approached to within about two fathoms, showing a burning stick, as if to offer us fire. And we made fire with powder and flint-and-steel, and he trembled all over with terror, and we fired a shot. He stopped as if astonished and prayed, worshipping like a monk, lifting his finger toward the sky, and pointing to the ship and the sea, he appeared to bless us. . . ."

Ancient Arcadia, in the Greek Peloponesus, abounded in forests of oak and spruce, and contained wild animals, including bears and boars. Associated with Pan the tutelary god of the Arcadians, and with flocks and shepherds, the word was poetically used by the Greeks and Romans, and came to mean an ideal place of contentment. Sir Philip Sidney's pastoral romance, "Arcadia," was written in 1580, its title having been borrowed probably from the "Arcadia" (1502) of Sannazaro.

Nothing in Verrazzano's description of the Western Arcadia discloses the spot where the landing party came ashore. But from the fact which he had previously stated, that the party

went inland eight miles, without making mention of Chesapeake Bay, we may infer that it was north of the point. Cape Charles. If the landing was made anywhere in the present Worcester County, Md., "two leagues" or eight miles is about the distance they could have gone before they would be stopped by the swamps of Pocomoke River. But can we not locate Arcadia more definitely? Must we allow the identification of this region to rest simply on the assertion that "the coasts of the Virginia of today and of Maryland are poetically named Arcadia?" The name is, no doubt, still appropriate; indeed it has recently been suggested that the Eastern Shore be called "The Land of the Evergreens." Luckily, I have been able to find "Arcadia" on one important ancient map, that of Augustine Herman, manuscript 1670, and engraved by William Faithorne in 1674. This map was rare and long overlooked, but has exerted a considerable influence on our history.7

The copy in the British Museum was reproduced in facsimile and published, with a bibliographical account, by P. Lee Phillips, Chief of Map Division, Lib. of Cong. (1911). It appears, reduced, and accompanied by a valuable scientific criticism in "Maps and Mapmakers of Maryland" (1898) by Edward Bennett Matthews. Louis N. Whealton, who reproduces the map in his "Maryland-Virginia Boundary Controversy" (1897), regards it as important because it shows the Calvert-Scarburgh line and identifies the Wighco with the Pocomoke River.

In response to an inquiry for further information the Library of Congress sent the following letter:

Mr. P. Lee Phillips, the Chief of our Division of Maps and Charts, reports as follows in connection with your request:

"I do not find the name 'Arcadia,' on any of the important early maps of the Virginia coast, earlier than the Herrman map, 1673.

"As I state in my 'Virginia cartography,' and in my monograph on the Herrman map, the first map of Virginia was made in 1585, by John With, who accompanied the second expedition sent out by Raleigh. The first map published by De Bry in 1590 was the forerunner of all maps of Virginia published in atlasses and elsewhere up to John Smith's map in 1608. The same liberty was taken with this map up to the one made by Augustine Herrman made in 1670 and published in 1673. Herrman gave many names not found on other maps."

As there was a chance that some early history of Virginia might throw light on the name "Arcadia" as applied to the Virginia coast, our Chief Bibliographer has made a further investigation. He now reports that he is unable to add anything to the information furnished by Mr. Phillips.

Herman places the name "Arcadia" in the extreme upper part of the present Accomac County, Va., but Verrazzano most certainly meant to apply the name to the wooded coast which he "always" skirted as he sailed North. Herman seems to have been anxious to record on his map the Virginia Divisional Line of 1668, and to make as few entries as possible north of it on the Maryland side. He did not even enter the name of the Southern Maryland county, Somerset, erected in 1666, though he entered Cecil, Talbot and Dorchester. East of Delaware Bay in "New Jersey Pars" he took the trouble to make the note "At present inhabited only or most by Indians," but west of the Delaware we find no such entry; in fact, practically nothing. Herman's map was made for Lord Baltimore in consideration of a manorial grant, but one can readily believe that he may have been anxious to avoid contradicting himself when as an emissary in the service of the Dutch he maintained that the latter possessed title to the territory west of the Delaware, and that they had placed the Dutch arms all over it in primitive days.8 Furthermore, after 1655, when the Dutch captured the west shore of the Delaware from the Swedes,9 the growing friction between the English and the Dutch would have made any attempt by Lord Baltimore to survey the coast of New Amsterdam a matter of some inconvenience.

Dr. Matthews, the Maryland authority on cartography, praises highly the map in general, but thinks it "probable that Herman never studied this portion of our coast." Obviously, the value of Herman's map to our present inquiry is the use of the name Arcadia, and not as a specification of the extent of the coast which Verrazzano skirted and baptized by this name more than a century before.

The fixing now of the exact place of landing, from the available data, is difficult. A glance at a modern map will show that at present a sandy peninsula or beach, of perhaps a mile in width extends south from Rehoboth Bay, running parallel to

<sup>8</sup> Archives of Maryland, 3, 370.

Acrelius, 72 et seq.

Sussex County, Del., Worcester County, Md., and a part of Accomac County, Va. This long peninsula beach is separated from the mainland on the west by a series of inland bays; Chincoteague Sound, Assateague, Sinepuxent, Isle of Wight, and Assawaman Bays. Accurate knowledge of the ancient coast is not to be had from any one source. In a general way this peninsular formation of a long outlying beach is shown on the map of America of 1610, found in Spain and copied in "Brown's Genesis." But the drawing is general, and without detailed accuracy. Our early records, too, indicate that this beach existed, and was cut by many openings,-was really a series of islands. For example, the Virginia Merchant was wrecked in 1650 "among the Islands of Assateague Bay." 10 This occurred a day's journey north of Chincoteague Island or in the region of old Sinepuxent Inlet. Sinepuxent Neck, where Major General Edward Whalley took up a tract of land called "Genezer" in 1684, is described as "open to ye Atlantic Ocean." 11 This is the location of old Sinepuxent Inlet, which in the latter part of the 17th, all of the 18th, and part of the 19th centuries, was the scene of some foreign and a large coastwise shipping. This inlet was closed by filling in with sand about 1860.12 There are many references to Sene Puxone (variously spelled) both the Neck and the Hundred, but the first reference found to "Cinnepuxon Inlet" is in 1698.13 The beach south of the opening opposite Sinepuxent Neck seems to have been called strictly Assateague Island; and above it North Beach. There was also a small inlet, further south,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Va. Car., Neill. See note 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Penn. Mag. of Hist. Biog., vol. II; The Whaley Record, S. Whaley (1901), 77; The Days of Makemie, L. P. Bowen (1885), 526.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Sinepuxent Inlet, Worcester County, Md., is the entrance from the ocean into Sinepuxent Bay,—in 38° 10′ 30″ N. Lat. The bay is long and narrow, separated from the ocean by Assateague Island. *Harp. Stat. Gaz.* of the World, 1855. The remains of a wreck may still be seen buried in the sand marking the location of the old inlet. A boat is said to have grounded while passing through the inlet, which, when the channel was thus choked, rapidly closed.

<sup>18</sup> Sussex Records; Turner, C. H. B. (1909), 41.

on "Green Run" beach, which was "closed shortly before the Civil War." Indeed, of the three inlets known to have been formerly used by ships, only the most southerly, Chincoteague, is now open and in use. The transformation of our beaches seems to show a long process of filling in, so that we may infer that Assateague Bay must have been very open to the sea in the carly part of the sixteenth century.

Now Verrazzano may have sailed into Assateague Bay through the southerly opening, known to us as Chincoteague "inlet"; here lay at anchor; and then departed by way of the opening, off Sinepuxent Neck. For, if he had sailed outside, he could hardly have observed the beautiful wooded mainland across the intervening beaches and a bay, seven miles wide. Above Sinepuxent Neck, however, the bay narrows considerably, and the woods of the mainland are visible today to a boat at sea. Very likely he landed at the lower end of Assateague Bay, somewhere opposite Chincoteague Island, and then passed through the bay, and also landed at the upper end of the bay on Sinepuxent Neck. In such event he must have observed the shores of Accomac and old Somerset very closely. Remaining here for three days, he gathered some interesting information.

#### IV.

The "History of the Dauphine and Its Voyage" occupies nearly 23 pages in Dr. Hall's translation, of which three are devoted to Arcadia. He tells us that the wild people whom he found there fled on their approach through fear, but seeking everywhere for eight miles inland, they eventually found an old woman and a damsel hidden in the grass. Each of these carried three children on her shoulders or neck. They then stole a boy to carry back to France, and attempted to steal the damsel, who was "of much beauty and tall of stature, but it was not possible on account of the very great cries which she uttered for us to conduct her to the sea." These people were lighter in color than those previously seen, and they apparently used the mossy foliage (such as may still be seen hanging from

the cypress trees along Pocomoke River) as covering for their bodies. They subsisted on "pulse" or wild peas, and by hunting and fishing. In this land, barren of rocks and metals, their arrows, which were made of reeds, were pointed with bones of fish and other animals. They had large "barges," or dug-outs, as long as 20 feet, and as wide as four, which were hollowed out with fire. Wild grapes, roses, lilies, violets, and many sorts of herbs were observed, but no habitations, on account of their being inland. At this point in the narrative the paragraph follows which mentions the name "Arcadia," previously quoted in full.

The incident there given of a man approaching to within two fathoms of the "Dauphine," as if to propitiate the strangers with a burning stick, shows the primitive state of these savages. Since even the canoes were hollowed out by burning, such worship of fire is easily credible. Indeed, quite generally the Eastern tribes of the Algonquian Indians worshipped as their manitus or dcities such objects of nature as "the sun, the moon, fire, trees, lake and the various animals." 14 course, the idea that the burning sticks were offered as a propitiation may have been a misinterpretation. One might easily have misunderstood the antics and signs of this terrified Indian. A letter to Mr. F. W. Hodge, the ethnologist, has brought this interesting comment and suggestion: "The Cherokees and the whites of the Southern mountains carry pine torches to light their way at night, using 'fat pine knots,' which blaze for a long time. It may be that such burning pine knots or other torches were sometimes carried on short moves as a convenient way of keeping fire." At all events, virtually all Indians, "so far as known, reverenced fire, and made fire ceremonies, as the lighting of the new fire, an important part of their ritual."

Iron ore might have been found here if they had gone far enough inland. "Gath," in his *Entailed Hat*, has familiarized us with the presence of bog ore at the old Furnace between Snow Hill and Princess Anne. The described village

<sup>14</sup> Bur. of Am. Ethn., Pt. 1, 40.

still stands in the forest. But the American aborigines made a very limited use of iron. "Since smelting was unknown to the natives, the only form of metallic iron available to them, and sufficiently malleable to be shaped by hammering, is of meteoric origin." Little stone has been found here. Some arrow heads, battle-axes and mortars and pestles for mashing corn have been occasionally picked up on the seaside, but they were probably brought from the north in the course of trading. The description generally is in consonance with the facts of this region.

These first inhabitants of Arcadia were forerunners, and may have been forebears, of the Assateague Indians, who rescued the Norwood party, in canoes, from the Assateague island on which they were marooned, January 5, 1650. This party, consisting of 19 men and women, had landed in a wherry from the Virginia Merchant in search of drinking water, when the crew, who had long been in much distress, turned the ship's head south for the capes and left them stranded. The Indian werowance, named Kickotank, showed much hospitality and humanity to these refugees not only by rescuing and caring for them, but by dispaching a messenger to Accomac who brought back Jenkin Price, a fur trader, to guide them south. For such gracious services. Kickotank of Assateague deserves to be celebrated by the side of the Laughing King of Accomac. As the party stayed a month either on the island or with Kickotank, the close details of the Norwood narrative are of much value. It gives an insight into the Indians, now unterrified; shows generally the physical character of the seaside, mentioning the Spanish moss; and refers to such delicacies of food as oysters, mussels, shell-fish, deer, duck, geese, curlew and swan. "The shore swarmed with fowl"; and the Indians said that wolves did "greatly abound in that island."

The habitations of these Indians is clearly indicated, for it is described as being on the seaside 25 miles north of Gingo Teague, and 50 miles north of Nathaniel Littleton's plantation

<sup>15</sup> Id., 615.

in Achomack. They eventually departed for Accomac on foot, and toward evening of the first day saw "the smoak" of Gingo Teague, an Indian town, where they spent the night. Toward evening of the second day, they ended their "wearisome pilgrimage and entered into our King's dominions at Achomat, called by the English, Northampton County," spending the night with Jenkin Price. After visiting Mr. Charlton's, and Esquire Yardly's "whose father had sometime been governor," they "had an opportunity to cross the bay, in a sloop, on February 13, and with much ado landed in York River, at Esquire Ludlow's plantation." <sup>16</sup>

The Assateagues were severely treated, by Col. Edmund Scarburgh of Accomac, before Gov. Calvert came upon the scene. During "the seaside war" of 1659 they could not have been numerous, for they were then described as "harder to find than to conquer."17 They are believed to be related to the Nanticokes, who spoke a dialect of the Lenapes or Delawares, and so, were Algonquian. Unfortunately, they have not been fully described, and their identity has been generally mingled with the better-known Nanticokes, but not a little may be found out about them in our records. They suffered from the predatory incursions of roving Indian bands, made a treaty with Lord Baltimore in 1668, another in 1678, separately from the Nanticokes, and were then ordered into five reservations along Pocomoke River. 18 The first treaty was signed by Amungus as Emperor. From the signatures attached to the second treaty we may conclude the domination of the Emperor of Assateague over the King of Chincoteague and the Kings of the tribes along Pocomoke River. Their pricipal seat was at Askimenkonsen, the village shown on Herman's map, now lying in Coulbourn's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The full text of Col. Norwood's "A Voyage to Virginia" appears in Force's *Hist. Tracts.*, 111, No. 10 (1844), reprinted from Churchill's "Collection of Voyages" (1732) vi, 143-170. Shortly after the Commissioners of the Eastern Shore were appointed, a commission to trade with the Indians was granted to Jenkin Price (*Arch. of Md.*, 3, 490).

<sup>17</sup> Archives of Maryland, 3, 379.

<sup>18</sup> Archives of Maryland, XV, 171, 213, 236.

district, and still called Indiantown. In their day, they gave the name of Assateague to the large bay, much of the beachland, and the creek near Berlin now called Trappe. A farm a few miles below this is known as "Assateague Field."

#### V.

We may regret that the Italian explorer did not see more of the primitive Arcadians and did not leave a more detailed record of this land of the Assateagues. But he has really told us a great deal,—enough to differentiate the region and its occupants rather sharply from what he found North and South. Besides, we are not unappreciative of the fact that Verrazzano was a man of discernment and possessed a rare sense of the fitness of things, in reserving the name of ideal contentment of classical antiquity to apply it to the Eastern Shore of Maryland. We thank the Cellere manuscript for the name Arcadia, and we thank Augustine Herman for his record of the name on his map. Arcadia does not appear among the names used by Maggioli, 1527, or by Gerolamo da Verrazzano, 1529. Moreover, Giovanni Verrazzano does not seem to have borrowed this name from any earlier source such as Cantino or Canerio; 19 so I infer that he alone stands sponsor for Arcadia as our ancient original baptismal name.

I have no means of knowing the documentary sources available to and used by Augustine Herman, a century later. But if he possessed any debt to Verrazzano on this account, I am quite willing to overlook his earlier attempt to award the Delaware to the Dutch, even though now he may seem superficially to give Arcadia to Virginia. Upper Accomac and old Somerset were, of course, all of a piece in their virgin simplicity and Arcadian beauty; here, too, the bay was continuous. This fact, at least, Col. Edmund Scarburgh could hardly deny, since

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The "Arcay" of Canerio (1502), mentioned in "Marine World Charts" by E. L. Stevenson (text, p. 86), is in Venezuela on the coast of South America and is now called Paraguana. It lies just west of the Dutch island, Curaçoa.

it was found, when the Virginia Divisional Line was run and "marked with dubble trees" in 1668, that this Virginia Surveyor General had previously granted to settlers in the right of Virginia nearly twenty-five thousand acres of land, now fallen on the Maryland side.<sup>20</sup> Herman's Arcadia may not be an echo of Verrazzano at all, but an entirely independent and separate appellation, bestowed by some seventeenth century pioneer. It marks, however, the beginning of the carlier Arcadian coast which Verrazzano skirted and so named.

It is fortunate that at this late date, we are able by a combination of two sources, the one long buried in Italy, the other in England, to rescue from uncertainty this much of our lost history and to identify the region of Verrazzano's visit with the first party of Europeans known to have landed in the eentral part of the present United States. Arcadia lay on the Atlantie Coast certainly between upper Aecomack in Virginia and Fenwick's island,—a part of the old "seaboard side." It probably included the present Accomae County, Virginia, and the present Worcester County, Md. (It may possibly have extended further north, but it is unlikely. For if he always skirted the eoast "to the North and East," he would have left it at Fenwick's Island, above which the Delaware coast recedes to Cape Henlopen. This would explain why he failed to mention Delaware Bay.) Here, in the land of the later Assateagues, somewhere between the southerly end of Chincoteague Island, Virginia, and North Beach in Woreester County, Maryland, the party of twenty men, from Verrazzano's French expedition disembarked and explored the mainland for three days, going as far as eight miles inland (April, 1524).

In setting before you Verrazzano's story, freed from common misconceptions and errors of interpretation, I have in this paper endeavored to show the force of the evidence upon which it is based. I have besides been able to support the opinions as to the Maryland coast, of the editors of the Hakluyt, and the Cellere texts which I eited, by a reference to Herman's map and an analysis of its incompleteness. This contains the name

<sup>20</sup> Archives of Maryland, v., 43.

Arcadia, and so gives proof of the ancient distinctive physical character of this coast. In order to determine the extent of Verrazzano's Arcadia and the possible places of landing, I then found it necessary, because of the incompleteness of the map, to reconstruct the probable general form and character of our ancient coast line from the known available records, sufficiently to show that the bay was very open to the sea in the early days. This accomplished, a new interest arose in my mind as to what was said to have been found in Arcadia; and I have so endeavored to bring before you important incidents of the narrative, as for instance the wild natives of Arcadia in the stone age, their appearance, dress, customs, and means of subsistence, and have also connected them with the Assateague Indians, presenting the latter as dominating the Chincoteagues and the Pocomokes, nowhere closely described; all being of importance as growing out of Verrazzano's visit to Arcadia, and his discovery of Virginia and Maryland in 1524. The items contained in Verrazzano's letter to King Francis I are often mere impressions, but are important as being apparently the earliest contribution to the early history of our ocean frontier.

This coast generally impressed its early observers with its natural beauty. The Swedes called the place where they landed, near the present town of Lewes, Del., "Point Paradise." <sup>21</sup> The Dutch named the same region in 1651, Zwaanendael or Valley of the Swans, while the Maryland-Virginia divisional line of 1668, ran east from Watkins Point to a creek called Swans Cut. Thus, though there were myriads of wild water fowl on the early beaches, the swans seem to have elicited special notice,—along with the sylvan beauty of the background. It was, I think likely, along the Maryland shore below that historic, illusory, headland at Fenwick's Island, known as the "False Cape," that Bartholomew Gilbert saw land in 1603,—" very fine, low land, very farre off to be full of tall trees and a fine sandie beach and a great siege." But Master Canner's "relation" is worthy of separate and minute study.<sup>22</sup>

22 Purchas, IV, 1656, Ch. XII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Lündstrom's map in Acrelius' "New Sweden."

### EXTRACTS FROM THE CARROLL PAPERS.

(Continued from Vol. X, p. 159.)

Febry the 11th, 1758. [28]

Dr Papa,

I wrote to you the 4th of this month a very long and circumstantiall letter in answer to yours of the 1st and 13th of Janur. Yours of the 15th of Debr did not come to hand. day I received another from you dated the 21st of Janury. am afraid this letter which is an answer to it will come too late. I intend to keep up a correspondance with my Cousin Anthony I have wrote to him since my arrivall here. I am entirely persuaded he had allways my interest and wellfare and heart; Pray are people more particularly merry in England during Shrovetide than at any other time. There are masquerades, danceing and God knows what all in this place. I went masqued to a ball last shrove tuesday night. I was mightily diverted with my own and others ridiculous figure. I had the pleasure of accompanying and danceing with one of the most butifull young ladies I ever saw. Don't be affraid now that I am fallen in love with her there is no danger; she is a going in few day's time to Paris to be married there to a handsome gentleman of a pretty fortune: her's is but very inconsiderable.

By what you write me and by what I hear ellsewhere the English seem really to be in earnest at last; I am of the ministery's way of thinking videlicet that the best way of forwarding our arms in America is to pursue the war in Europe with the uttmost vigour. France will be more employed and consequently will not be able to fix her attention on her Colonies and settlements in America, or at most she will only be able to send but very moderate supplies which interupted by the English squadrons at sea will entirely distress her in that part of the world. But after all I believe the French are not so easily

to be distressed; they have innumerable resources and are a cunning warlike nation two qualities quite necessary in war, one of which we are entirely destitute of. The Queen of Hungary's forces are certainly greatly diminished by the severall losses they have lately sustained but not so much as the English papers make them. I am surprised to hear that money is so easy to be had in England after such immense expenses. Its certain that the commerce of France is nigh its last gaspe but notwithstanding the King still finds as much money as he stands in need of.

Pray send me or desire M<sup>r</sup> Perkins to send me with the other books two little pocket Horaces of the Glascow edition. The books that may be allready bought or those that I may write for to M<sup>r</sup>. Perkins must be sent to and directed to M<sup>r</sup>. Crookshanks at Paris. I have received two or 3 letters from M<sup>r</sup>. l'Isledieu he desires to be remembered to you in the kindest manner. 200 guineas are to be remitted to M<sup>r</sup>. Crookshanks this month. I believe that sum will be sufficient to pay my expenses during my stay in this town. Perhaps I shall be obliged to draw upon M<sup>r</sup>. Perkins once on this side of the water in order to make a collection of all the Latin Classick authors. I have remaining by me of the 30 guineas 14. I believe they will last me to Easter or thereabouts.

I left behind me at Paris a very pretty Collection of Rollin's mapps for use and intelligence of ancient history. I shou'd be glad to know wether you carried them away with you to London. I don't exactly remember how you are to use Mr. Sheltons waters but I believe the prescription is more or less as follows. Wash your mouth at night with the red; take a teaspoonfull of the saffron coloured every morning in a cup of luke warm water and at the same time make use of the little brush up and down but not cross ways.

The inclosed is from M<sup>r</sup>. Champion: be so good as to deliver it to the Duke of Norfolk. You must know that that nobleman come to Bourges some years ago where he made acquaintance with M<sup>r</sup>. Champion and stood godfather to one

of his children. Mr. Champion is an honnest worthy man and a merry one tho' not rich: two or 3 years ago he lossed 600th by a bankrupt; he has a numerous family to mentain; and I believe a present from the Duke of Norfolk wou'd be agreable to him in his present circumstances. If you see the duke and have an occasion you may if you think proper, insinuate this to him: he was a particular friend of Mr. Champion's.

Your opinion of the English and French stage seems to be very just; its as I thought; but I did not really think there tragedies so obscene as you seem to mention. Mr. Power gives his kind compliments to you. Remember me to my Mama in the most affectionate manner don't forget to write to immediately when you leave London and when you arrive in Maryland. I suppose you have all the letters I have wrote you from this place by you. they will be agreeable to my Mama and may afford her somme satisfaction. does not Cousin Anthony go with you to Maryland. I wish you a short and happy voyage and good health. my sincerest wishes to all my friends my Compliments to Mr. Perkins. I am Dr. Papa

Your most dutifull and affectionate son

C. Carroll.

P. S. be pleased to send me S<sup>r</sup>. David Thomas' essays 4 volu: in 12. Remember me to Harry Carroll, when the war is at an end I suppose he will go to sea again; if so I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing him in London in two or 3 years time; it will afford a great pleasure to see him at any time. I bear him a true affection and wish him all happiness. I desire you will give my compliments to M<sup>r</sup>. Lawson M<sup>r</sup>. Croxall Charles and Doct<sup>t</sup> Lyon.

Assure my Grand Mama of my love and affection for her all that's kind to my Aunt Genny. Vive et vale.

June the 14th, 1758. [32]

Dr. Papa & Mama.

This is my second letter to you since your departure from London: my last was dated the 23<sup>d</sup> of March: Yours of the 1<sup>st</sup> & 8<sup>th</sup> of March & 1<sup>st</sup> of Aprill are all come safe to hand. The books you sent me from London are not as yet arrived. They remain still with M<sup>r</sup>. Galloway at Ostend; but I hope to receive them in a short time. I advance on in the study of the civill law and as I advance it appeares more and more agreeable. I have at length finished the Institutes and have began to read Domat's civill laws: a usefull and profitable book. I was obliged to buy it here being not able to borrow it; the price is 26<sup>£</sup>. the advantage I hope to reap in the reading of it will answer the price.

The uniformity of my way of living can scarce furnish me with matter enough to fill up a letter. My chief nay my allmost only amusement is reading; I find no conversation more agreable than that of a Horace's a Virgil's a Racine's &c. their company is instructive and at the same time agreable, monent et mulcent sometimes I forsake the Poets & prefer to the mellodious harmony of the muses the profitable and faithfull lessons of History; here I learn to be wise at the expense of others and to attain to true glory by the example of the great, good & just. These and such like amusements are now and then interrupted by others of a quite different nature.

I lately made a little excursion into the adjacent country. I went from Bourges to Sancerre to see a Scotch Lord, who is established in that town a good, honnest, man, unhappy tis true but worthy of a better fate. He was in the late rebellion and lossed his estate of about 3 thousand pound sterling a year. I dont ever in my life remember to have seen a finer country than the Sancerrois nor a more beautiful or a more extensive prospect. From a high eminence, on which the town is built you see before you as far as the eye can carry the view is only bounded by the horrison. On each side are hills adorned with vines and woods (the wine is exceeding good). Between these

hills layes wide and extensive meadows covered with flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, country seats, &c. But nothing contributes more to the beauty and ornament of this so delightful a counry than the River Loire. Charmed with the beauties of the place he peacefully glides along the meadows in so many and various meanders, that he often seems to return upon himself and quit this enchanting abode with reluctance. From this terrestrial Paradise I went to la Chanté, a little town in sight of Sancerre and 12 leagues from Bourges. Here I met with one Mr Alcock an Englishman who has established at la Charité a factory of buttons. His method of makin 'em is curious and amusing; but not half so amusing as his young, pretty, witty daughter. After a day or two's stay I returned to Bourges in good health but a little dull and pensive.

There has lately been made a change in the ministry. Moras has laid down his post, and has received from his Majesty as a recompense for his services done the State £40,000 per Strl. Massiac an old experienced Sea officer has succeeded him and Monr. le Norman is appointed his adjoint. I wrote the latter a letter to compliment him upon his promotion. I likewise wrote as you desidered me to Mr. l'Iledieu and endeavoured to season my letter with all the politeness and all the gratitude a grateful heart can be capable of: But as yet no answer. 200 hundered guineas are not as yet paid. I have bought half a ticket in the Cologne Lottery, & have allready gained to my share £10: a ticket costes £35. 11s.. I hope to acquaint you in my next of the acquisition of the gros lot. Amongst 5 tickets there are 3 prises, so you see I stand a chance of getting something. La lotterie est de 6 differentes tirages et chaque tirage se fait chaque mois.

I earnestly desire to hear often from you, nothing gives me greater satisfaction than to hear you are well. I humbly intreat my Mama to make her letters to me a little longer; she may be assured that anything coming from her is agreable and welcome. When you write you wou'd oblige me in giving me an account of our American war. Pray have you as yet met with an offer for selling your lands? or do you remain still

determined to sell them? does our ennimies still continue to persecute us? Their injustice and ungratefulness quite surprises me: what have we done to deserve such treatment from them? their complaintes as well as their reasons I am convinced are entirely groundless how did you find your affaires at your arrival? I doubt not but in a prosperous way; this is owing to the prudence of Mr. Croxall; my sincerest compliments to him and to his brother. My Mama I dare say made you a number of questions concerning me, I wish I cou'd satisfy them myself by my presence. I long to see you both with all my heart. I am Dr. Papa and Mama.

Your most loving and obedient Son,

C: Carroll.

P. S. I quite forgot the snuff box. I shall repair my fault when I pass by Paris in my way to London: My love and duty to my Grand-Mama, my sincerest respects to my Aunt Genny, compliments to M<sup>r</sup>. & M<sup>rs</sup>. Lawson & their children, to doctor Lyon, &c.

Augst 10th, 1758. [33]

Dr. Papa and Mama,

Ily aujourd'huy un an que Je vous vis pour la 1re fois apres 8 ans d'absence que ce Jour est different de celui là! Quelle Joie ne sentois je pas alors? il n'y manquoit rien pour etre complette que d'etre d'une plus longue durée Quand Je songe à ces momens agreable que nous passames ensemble, ces promenades que nous fi'mes aus Thuileries, au Louvre, au Palais royal, ces petites courses dans les environs de Paris tout cela me frappe si vivement l'esprit que Jene puis m'empecher de verser quelques larmes voila qui est bien foible me direz vous: soit mais du moins vous devez aimer cette foiblesse, si vous m'aimez, puisque c'est vous qui etes la cause. Mais laissons la ces idées et ce souvenir d'une Joie passagere qui ne laisse apres soi que du regret de n'en plus Jouir: cherchons en plutot

quelque chose qui peut nous egayer. Souvenez vous d'avoir ou Monr. Willoughby, c'est lui qui vous donnat à diner à Paris. Je l'ai rencontré dernierement a la Charité chez Monsieur Alcock (voyez ma derniere lettre) il y etoit lors que J'arrivois; oui ily etait, mais à n'en point sortir sitot. Mademoiselle Alcock le tenoit enchainé, il l'aime perduement, et elle le meprise: heureusement pour lui. Les Biens de mademoiselle Alcock sont tres mediocres ou pour mieux dire elle n'a d'autre bien que son esprit et sa beauté; les sienes sont considerables; cependant il etoit dans le dissein de l'epouser, si elle avoit voulu, et meme sans le consentement de son Pere. Il est à la fin parti de la Charité, Je ne sois comment el a pu se ressondre à quitter sa maitresse. Il lui est arrivé un peu avant son depart de la Charité un incident assez plaisant. La fantasie le prit d'accompagner Mademoiselle Alcock à Sanserre ville voisine et dont Je vous ai deja parlé Ils y allerent donc, mais non pas seuls; y etant arrivé il va voir My Lord qui lui fact mille amities, le fine à souper, il s'excuse d'abord on le presse il se defend mal et enfin se rende toutefois. Le voi la à souper, il y cause beaucoup, mange de bon appétit et boit de même. Le souper etant deserv on apporte a large bowl of punche, il y en avoit assez pour nover une armée presque entiere. Mon homme deja echauffé par le vin qu'il avoit bu, boit encore copieusement de ce liqueur seduisant l'effet s'en suivit de prés; le voila grisé comme il faut; on le conduit dans sa chambre, et il s'endort mais son sommeil fut bientot interrompu. Le devoîment le prend tout d'un coup, il court aux commodites, au lieu des commodites il entre dans la chambre de la domestique, monte sur son lit croyant à coup sur trouver la ce qu'il cherchoit: elle au lit. Je vous laisse à deviner le reste.

Je m'applique toujours à l'etude des loix civiles et principalement à Monsieur Domat; c'est auterer clair, net, et precis: Jespere et par son secours et par mon travail d'acquerir dans l'esparce d'un an une connoissance assez complete du droit civil Apres un travail aussi continue et ennuieuse vous penserez peutetre qu'il ne sera pas mal apropos de prendre quelque chose et de se divertu un peu. C'est dans cette oue que Je me propose d'aller à Lyon dans quelque tems d'ici et peutetre plus loin si mes finances me le permittent. Mon<sup>r</sup>. Power m'accompagnera; il sexet trop ennuicux, de faire un si long chemin tout seul; il a la même envie de voir ce pais là que moi; Je l'obligerai beaucoup en le faisant compagnion de mon voyage; la politesse et la recoinaissance exigent de moi que Je le fasse: et J'ose me flatter que vous ne le trouverez pas mauvais. A mon retour Je vous enverrer une longue relation bien detaillié de tout ce que J'ai ici de plus ennieux et en même tems le memoir de mes depenses pendant cette année.

J'ai recu il n'y a pas long tems une lettre trespolie de Mon<sup>r</sup> le N. malgré cette politesse il me donne tres peu d'esperanns de voir votre projet reussir: il n'y faut pas penser seulement on n'a pas encore remis à monsieur Crookshanks les 200 Louis d'or quand seront t'ils remis? c'est ce que Jignore. Monsieur de l'Isledieu ne me fait pas l'honneur de me repondre; Je lui ai pourtant cent deux lettres de suite, il est difficile à deviner quelle soit la cause de son silence.

Bourges commence à ménnuier un peu: elle est toute propre a cela, point de spectacles, point de petites parties de plaisir, point de promenades, 'estun pais isolé; il y fautt Jouer aux cartes ou revoir personne; J'aime mieux vivre en he write ou comme Diogene sous un tonneau que de perdre tant de tems à Jouer aux cartes. Cela etant ainsi el est naturel à croire que Je souhaite d'être au bout de mon exil: cependant Je prendrai patience Jusqu'à tems là patientia fit levius quid quid corrigere est nefas comme dit fort bien Horace l'ami de bon sens.

Cette lettre (du mains Je l'espere) vous causera doublement du plaisir 1°. vous verrez par là que Je commence a seavoir un peu la francois. 2°. vous aurez la peine à l'expliquer à ma tres chere Mere; cette peine sans doubte vous sera bien douce Mais tandis que vous enpliquerez cette lettre, n'oublier pas celui qui l'a cent: il ne vous oublis pas: il vous aime, et ne pense qu'à vous. I am Drs. Papa and Mama.

Your most dutifull and Loving
Son Charles Carroll.

P: S: I desire to be remembered to my Grand Mama, to my Aunt Genny, to the two Croxals, to M<sup>r</sup>. and M<sup>rs</sup>. Lawson, to Doctor Lyon; in general to all friends and relations.

Augt 30th, 1758 [36]

Dr Charley,

As this is the Safest Conveyance I shall have for a long time (our Fleet sailing with convoy) I with Pleasure embrace it to inform you of my health. I often wish it was possible for me to inspect & direct your Conduct, I am sensible you entered into the World fully instructed as to yr Duty to God & with a sincere disposition to comply with it & Believe me the only way to comply with it, is not to omit on any Acct. yr daily Prayers to yr Creator, such is his infinite Goodness tht he never abandons us unless we first abandon him: Business Company late hours &c gradully seem excuses for first Postponing & then neglecting our Prayers & this Rampart being once Overthrown it's impossible to Enumerate the sad train of Evils weh inevitably enter at the Breach. Prayer does not consist in a set form of words it is the Heart the Will the Attention & intention weh accompanies them the carries them like a pure Sacrifice to the Throne of the Allmighty. A due sense of yr own Misery & wants & of the Power & infinite Goodness of God will move him to grant you those Graces & Blessings you Stand in need of. Chuse yr Compa. with the greatest Circumspection, fly those whose Manners & Conversation is not chaste & Pure. Evil Communication corrupts good manners, avoid any intimacy or familiarity with the fair Sex especially Visits or Conversations without witnesses, I should chuse tht Women should almost always make part of yr Company they will Contribute to soften & Polish yr manners, a chearfull lively easy & Polite behaviour is no way inconsistent with Religion or yr Duty to God, Faith & Reason teaches us tht God is every where present & that he sees & knows all our thoughts & actions how incumbent it is therefore on us to Act

with the greatest Circumspection before such a judge & witness, It is not only to promote yr Eternal Wellfare tht I write thus to you, nothing contributes so much to our comfort here as innocence & a clear conscience it heightens all the Pleasures of Life & enables us to bear as we ought the crosses & afflictions incident to it. You have now before you Models by wch to form yr cariage & Manners, the advantages of a Graceful Cariage & deportment are inestimable what Strikes us at 1st sight but a je ne scai quoi in the Person & Manner of the Man tht addresses us, hence a favourable proposition which if supported by good sense & Judgement facilitates everything he has to Sollicit. But this Cariage this manner the acquired must seem quite easy & natural, any Affectation is disgusting & points out the Ape. Study to acquire this Manner this Cariage; I often told you if a little stooping & pokeing out yr Head to weh you were Subject, its a habit you contracted at school for no Child ever held himself up better than you did. Correct it, it is absolutely inconsistent with the cariage I Recommend a constant reflexion will mend it. I desier you will find time to learn to Ride it will greatly contribute to give you a Habit of holding up yr Head keeping you streight & Erect & will Compleat you in yr Exercises. By the time this Reaches you you will be able to inform me how long it may be necessary for you to Read the Civil Law in order to acquier a complete Knowledge of it, not such a knowledge as to enable you to teach it but such a foundation in it as might be sufficient to commence a Councillor or Advocate, for they read & Study after they begin to practice, you are young & 6, 8 or 12 months must not be thought of if necessary to the Study you are imployed in. As to yr Expences I know not how to limit them, in yrs of Decr 19th, 1757 you tell me £130 will do genteely £5, 10, 15 or Twenty Pounds a Year more or less are not Sums of such Consequences as to be regarded if they be necessary to yr living or doing things genteely. But this requires judgment, for it's certain, a very trifle either spent or saved on particular occasions may make you be esteemed Generous or Stingy: If you happen to be with too Expensive Company

pay at the time yr money readily & chearfully But avoid the occasion a second time, in short do everything with a good Grace Economy & Generosity are so far from being inconsistent tht it is by economy we are enabled to be generous without hurting our circumstances. If at certain times or on Certain occasions you are obliged to be at an Extraordinary Expence tht Expence may be Ballanced by retierment for a time & particular Savings, out of some Articles of Expence a little ought to be saved for the Poor. In short yr Judgment & discretion must direct yr Expences & you cannot Regulate yr Expences with judgement & Discretion without keeping a Regular Acct of them, & by often perusing & Considering tht Acct you will see what Articles of Expence may be avoided, an early habit of so doing will save you thousands in the course of no long life. Yr Friends in General are well, Capt. Carroll maried in my Absence one Miss Thompson with a Fortune of £2500 Ster: or thereabouts. In the Postcript to a Copy of mine of July 25th I think I informed you tht Louisbourgh was not in our hands the 25th past & tht by our Bombs we had Burnt three French line of Battle Ships in the Harbour & tht the French seem's to be persuing the advantage gained over us at Ticonderoga or Carillon. We have been since informed tht a Considerable Body of them in 300 were advanced to the Head of lake George & tht there have been some Skirmishes between small Parties not to our advantage & Private reports say tht our Northern Militia there are returned & returning to their several homes so tht Genl Abercrombie will have only the Regulars with him, it is also reported tht the Miscariage of our Attacks at Carillon was oweing to the Bad behaviour of our Militia Our Papers also say they have a Prospect of a Bad Harvest in Canada & tht part of our Troops aget Fort du Quesne had Crossed the Mountains & Entrenched at the great Meadows the others being to follow immediately, But I think this expedition goes on Heavily. We have at last an Acct tht Louisburgh surrendered the 26th past 4500 Soldiers & Sailors were made Prisoners of War tht the Inhabitants are to be sent

to France tht the Town was almost reduced to Ashes before it surrendered, tht the Besieged lost 1500 Men the Besiegers only 300, tht in the Course of the Siege 4 Capital Ships were Burnt & one taken, on the Surrender the Rest (except a 74 Gun Ship & a Frigate weh are said to have escaped) were either Burnt or Sunk. You have heard of the French losses at Senegall on the Coast of Africa. The French are not as we hear advancing on us from lake George. We have news from London to the 25th of June & are apprised of our Successes there & the Pleasing prospect of our own & the King of Prussias Affairs. Our Ministry seems to act with Vigour & to avail themselves of the great Superiority of their Naval Force weh threatens Ruin to the French Islands & Colonies in America. I have wrote to Mr L'abbe de L'Isle Dieu, & Mr Crookshanks by this Conveyance. My sincere compliments & Service to Mr Power, I make bold to pay my hearty acknowledgements & Respects to Mons<sup>r</sup> L'intendant for the Civilities he shews vou & the Hon'r he does you, it would give me infinite Pleasure to have it in my Power to make a return to any one tht is dear to him. I pray to God to preserve yr health & to Bless you & I am My Dr Charley

P. S. You will see this letter Yr Mo. Afft Father was not wrote at one Setting the Cha: Carroll. acct of takeing Louisburgh is in our Northern Gazette but not Confirmed by Authority. (Copy)

Jany the 17th, 1759. [38]

Dr Papa,

I wrote you a very long letter in french from Bourges the 7<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>b</sup>. 1758. I write to you at present from Paris, where I intend to finnish my 2<sup>d</sup>. year of the civil law. I am lodged in the College of Louis le Grand; I preferred living in that place than in town, as more conformable to your way of thinking & Safer for myself. I shall enjoy as few perhaps fewer pleas-

ures, certainly less liberty than at Bourges; my diet is not so good, & the manner less agreable: hence you may plainly see no desire of ease & pleasure determined me to this change; the only reason is my advantage & advancement in the law. I informed you in my last letter, and as you may see by a copy of it that accompanies this, that no proper person cou'd be found at Bourges to instruct me in the study of the Law, that Mr. Champion the only one capable at least willing to render me that service was inferiour to the task. Poor Champion is now no more. He died lately & suddenly of a violent pluresey. His death deprived me of all assistance: thereupon I resolved to guit Bourges & come to Paris; I executed my design by the advice of my friends, who are all of opinion that Bourges was the most improper place I cou'd be sent to in order to study the law. A few days after my arrival in Paris I agreed with a person of merit and capacity & well versed in the law to instruct me in that science: he demands £30 a month for his pains; I spend an hour with him every day: he is of opinion that I shall acquire a competent knowledge of the civil law in six months time however I propose to stay here 9 if not 10.

There is no such thing as a riding academy at Bourges; I mention this, because you seemed desirous in your last letter of my learning to ride; at present I can comply if you think proper with your desire it will cost me 6 guineas the 1st month and 3 the ensueing: certainly nothing can contribute more to form a genteel and easy carriage, of which I stand in great need. If you are willing to consent to this expence lett me know it as soon as possible: 3 or 4 months exercise will be as much as I shall want. I drew on Mr. Perkins some time ago for £130 (as Mr. Crookshanks can by no means obtain the payment of the 200 guineas so often promised, & never intended to be paid). My expences will amount to more here than at Bourges; how much they will amount to I can't exactly say. My chamber alone, that is the furniture of it will cost me 300£ but this is not losst money, as I intend to sell the furniture I have bought at my quitting the College, perhaps I may lose upon the whole near 60£. I shall endeavor to be as great an

economist as decency will permit. I hope you received the memoir I sent you of my last year's expenses, and that you find them reasonable & are satisfied with my conduct. I continue to keep an exact & regular account of all the money I lay out.

I desired you in my last to send me a list of all the french books you have by you. I intend, with your leave, to buy their best authors, as for example Boileau, Rouseau, Voltaire: the latter has lately published a new & correct edition of all his works. I proposed likewise by your advice to get the Classicks of the 4° edition in usum Delphini; but as they are so excessively dear (for I am informed they cost about a 100 guincas) I must go without 'em: perhaps they may be had at a better rate in England. It wou'd be ridiculous to have studied latin 6 years & forget it for want of books.

I received about a month ago your letter of August the 30th, with one from my Mama dated the 29th of the same instant with a duplicate of the former & triplicate of the other two dated the 26th of June & 25th of July. I need not mention that they were all exceeding agreable, & wellcome, & satisfactory. I thank you kindly & sincerely for the good advice contained in your last letter. If I practised what you teach, I should not only be a compleat gentleman but a good Christian, which is much the most important of the two. A good conscience & a virtuous life are certainly the greatest blessings we can enjoy on earth. I don't aim nor never did at cannonization; I detest served up devotion, distorted faces, & grimace, I equally abhor those, who laugh at all devotion, look upon our religion as a fiction, & its holy mistress as the greatest absurdities. I observe my religious duties, I trust in the mercy of God not my own merits, which are none, & hope he will pardon my daily offenses. I retain as yet that salutary fear of his justice which by the wisest of men is stiled initium supientie. I love him tho' far less than his infinite goodness deserves & I cou'd wish to do so.

What shall I say to my Mama? My paper permits me to say but little; yet I have a great deal to say in answer to her

kind letter, which has no other fault than that of being too short and concise: I intend to write her soon a long & curious letter even interesting; at least I flatter myself it will be such: in the mean while assure her of my love and duty not the least impaired by 11 years absence. I can never leave off but against my will, when I once set down to write to you; yet my paper and time oblige me to call off my mind from tender Parent whose remembrance, love & affection for me makes my chief happiness. Farewell continue to love me as long as I continue to deserve your love. I am Dr. Papa

Your most affectionate dutifull & loving son,

C. Carroll.

P. S. I arrived at Paris the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1759

Pray present my love & duty to my Grand Mama; my love to my Aunt Genny; my kindest compliments to my friends in particular to M<sup>r</sup>. Lawson & his wife, to the Croxals, to Doetor Lyon &c.

[Anthony Carroll to Charles Carroll.]

 $D^r S^r$ , [39]

I have been a long while in a supposition that I shou'd be able to write to you from London, as I did not imagine Mr Corbie designed to keep me in this place for any considerable time. It gave me great Satisfaction to hear that you and the other Gentlemen were safely arrived and in good health. In my opinion one must have a good constitution to undergoe as much fatigue as you did, without feeling some bad effect from it. You may judge I am very curious to know how the Doctor's son is disposed, and how he behaves in the affair. I wish it may not be troublesome to let me know by the first opportunity if the business be any way advanced, and how you suppose it will end. I have not heard from Charley since the 29th Decr last. He was then very well and getting ready to

set off for Paris. Jack is still at Liege and continues to do well; he is esteem'd and beloved. I conclude with many thanks for all favours. Dear Sir,

Your obliged and Affte Kinsman

8th Feb. 1759

An: Carroll.

Febry the 17th, 1759 [40]

Dr Papa and Mama:

I lately received yours of Novr the 7th 1758, which gave me the Satisfaction to hear that you, my Mama and all my friends and relations are well. I wrote to you the 17th of last month; in that letter I informed you of my leaving Bourges and coming to Paris. Mr Hunter wrote to me a few days ago from London that he proposed to set sail for Maryland with the fleet the 10th of March. I cou'd not let slip so fair an oportunity of writing a line or two, in case my last letter shou'd miscarry you have here the Substance of it. My reasons for quitting Bourges and coming to Paris are I believe well grounded & will meet with your Approbation: but that I leave to your decision when you have considered them. My first and chief reason was the impossibility of finding a proper person to instruct me in the civil law. Mr Champion the most capable of such a task, and yet by no means sufficiently instructed to instruct others died sometime ago: indeed in case of necessity I might do without any such helper, but it wou'd be far more Laborious and require more time and study; besides I shou'd be apt to forget what I read if not inculcated by word of mouth. I have met here with a man under whom I hope to make a considerable progress in the law, & be able in 7 or 8 months time to commence the study of the common law, nay in a shorter space of time. I spend an hour a day with the above mentioned Person to wit from 7 o'clock in the morning till 8: I pay him 30<sup>£</sup> a month. My second reason for abandoning Bourges, was the disagreableness of that Sejour the stingy behaviour of my Landlady, and the difficulty of finding another convenient house to board in.

There is no such thing as a riding academy at Bourges; if you think proper I may go to the academy while in Paris: it will cost me 6 guineas the first month and 3 the ensuing. But in that case I cant possibly leave Paris before next spring: besides I have little time to employ in such exercises and the College of Louis le Grand, where I am lodged at present, is at a great distance from the riding schooll: nothing indeed can contribute more to give me an easy and genteel carriage, which I am sensible, I stand in need of. I have lately taken a master of design at the rate of 18<sup>£</sup> for 12 lessons, I believe I shall succeed, as I have allways had a taste and turn that way: it's a pretty amusement, even usefull not to say necessary in Several occasions. In about 8 or 9 months time perhaps I may send you some of my performances.

My expences here will be more considerable than at Bourges; mine and my Servant's pension during the whole year will cost 1000£: his wages amount to 200£ a year. I reckon to lose upon the furniture of my chamber near a 100£ at the selling of it: besides I am to furnish myself with wood candells &c; these Joined to other unforseen expences may amount to about 130 pounds Sterlin: I own I cost you a deal of money, more than ever I shall be worth. For supposing you had the power of the Ancient Romans jus vite et neus in Liberas and consequently of selling them I am certain you wou'd never get more for me than 10 or 12 pounds Sterlin at most: for if I remember right a good lusty strong nigro only costs 30. Be it as it will I endeavor to manage with as much econnemy as is consistent with decency. [Mr Crookshank's has not as vet obtained the payment of 200 guineas, he has lately made a petition to that purpose, what will be the event I cant really say.] Since my arrival at Paris I have been once or twice with Mr de l'Isledieu: he talked a great deal in your commendation, praised the exactness & quickness with which you performed Made Boison's affair, in short gave me the same demonstrations of zeal, friendship and cordiality as formerly, politely excused his not answering my letter even cunningly. He desires his kindest compliments to you as likewise M<sup>r</sup> Buttler, Fiteau, and Crookshanks.

I find by the gazettes that General Forbes has at last made himself master of fort du Quesne that the success of his enterprise was chiefly owing to the dissentions that reigned between the french Garrison and the Indians. There is no particular news stirring at Paris: the armies are preparing on all sides to enter into the feild: I am afraid a great deal of innocent blood will be shed this campain. The conspiracy formed against the king of Portugal makes a great noise. Pamphlets printed here and translated, as its said from the Portuguese accuses the Jesuites of being the ring leaders of the conspiracy. I attribute in great measure these reports spread out against them to animosity of their ennemies. I dont really well know what to think of the affair, I suspend my judgement till further confirmation. I promised in my last to write to my Mama but must defer it to another occasion. I have no time at present. Its necdless to assure her of my Love and affection I pray God may grant you both all health and happiness. I am Dr Papa and Mama

Your most loving & dutiful Son,

C: Carroll.

Dr Papa [41]

Your long silence begins to make me uneasy; the last letter I received from you was dated the 7<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup>, 1758, and the last I wrote you the 17<sup>th</sup> of Feb. 1759.

My expences will not mount so high as I first Imagined; I have dismissed my Servant, as little serviceable and extremely expensive; his wages alone wou'd have cost me 200<sup>£</sup> his pension 550<sup>£</sup>.

(You may lay asside all hopes of ever getting the 200 guineas. Mr Crookshanks has allways been put off with some indirect answer; there is no going to law with such people and

in a country so far distant.) My designing master scems to be very contented with the progress I make in designing: I dont expect ever to be a Michel Ange or Raphael. I shall be able to amuse myself & that's all I desire.

I hope you have not forgot to send me a list of your french books. Voltaire published sometime ago a new and correct edition of all his works I shou'd be glad to have them. I wou'd willingly buy Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Juvenal the infolio edition in usum Delphine. I must renounce bying all the Classicks (as you advised me) they cost near a 100<sup>£</sup>. I intend to leave Paris about the beginning of Sept. I hope you have regulated upon what footing I am to be at London, with whom wether with an Attorney or privy Counsellor, or in chambers; it would be difficult being so little acquainted with London to take these arrangements myself and pitch upon the best.

The conspiracy in Portugal occasioned here for some time a prodigious uproar against the Jesuites infamous Libelles were published publicly: stories destitute of common sense invented to throw the odium upon them; they were said to be the ringleaders et pour parley françois l'ame de la conspiration. At present one wou'd imagine that never any such thing had happened, the king of Portugal and Jesuits are quite forgot, which makes me apt to believe that what has been said against the Jesuites is mear calumny tho at first it seem'd not quite destitute of probability. I have lately read a french pamphlet that attributes the Jesuites disgrace in Portugal, the King's misfortune, the troubles in Paragay to our national debts; this is certainly mounting quite to the source et genuino Trojanund bellum ordetur ab ovo: This strange Politician asserts after a positive manner that our formidable fleet that conquered the Isle of Daix in the year 57 was first destined to carry over into Portugal his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, in order to be married to the Infanta and be proclaimed king after the present reign. The Jesuites zeal for their religion the discontentment of the Nobility and People disapointed this wonderfull scheme. The Portugeeze seem not to be less submissive than the frogs according to the fable.

Loud thunder shook the boy
And the hoarse nation cried God save king log.

I have been informed that Mr Hunter has met with success; that our ministry & my Lord Baltimore are satisfied with the Catholick's conduct in Maryland that orders have been given to your Governour and Assembly not to molest the Catholicks for the future. If this be true I suppose you will lay asside all thoughts of Leaving Maryland: This alteration must be agreable I dare say to my Mama; she certainly prefers her native tho uncivilised country, to any other. I have allready performed her commission; I have bought her a genteel and pretty snuff box a'la mode de Paris et même a'la plus nouvelle mode. I shall send it by the 1st oportunity I meet with after my arrival at London.

Pray give my duty to my Grand Mama my love to my Aunt Genny, I desire to be remembered to all my friends and in particular to M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Lawson to the two Croxalls, to D<sup>r</sup> Lyon &c. I am D<sup>r</sup> Papa & Mama

Your most loving and obedient son

Juin the 22d, 1759

C: Carroll.

Dr Papa, [42]

Since my last of the 22<sup>d</sup> of June I have received two letters from you one dated the 9<sup>th</sup> of Feb. the other the 16<sup>th</sup> of April, and one from my Mama the 4<sup>th</sup> of March. They were all three extremely agreable & came very apropos; I was quite uneasy not having heard from you for a long time.

[I have been obliged to draw lately on Mr Perkins as it is impossible in the present situation of affairs to get the 4800<sup>£</sup>. The gentlemen are quite out of cash they are puzzeled how to find out mony for their own use & necessary expences. In my opinion we shall never be paid; if we shou'd we must wait several years for the payment. I went a few days ago to see Mons<sup>r</sup> de l'Isle-dieu, payed him your compliments after the

most affectionate & politest manner my french will allow of. He is grown very cool, what can be the reason I will not really presume to say, unless that there is nothing more to be done pour son service. he received a long time ago Mon<sup>r</sup> Monjan's receit, I think you deserve at least a letter from him for your paines: however he desires his kindest compliments to you: you seem persuaded he will do all he can to get the 200 Louis dors paid; I am persuaded he thinks no more about it]. Mr Power accompanied me in my Tour thro the South of France, and prooved an agreable companion: my Journey was pleasant & instructive, I have made a Journal, when I have time to digest it I shall send it you.

I intend to leave Paris about the latter end of Sept. or beginning of Oct. I shall write to Mr Perkins before my departure from hence as you desire me. I proposed going once more to Versailles & Chantilly. I believe Mr Crookshanks will accompany me thither; he seems desirous of sceing the latter. He thanks you kindly for the present of the 10 guineas; but I fancy I shall not be able to prevail upon him to accept them out of the money he received for me. He intends to wait for the payment of the 4800<sup>£</sup> which in my opinion is refusing to accept of them. A good insight into the constitution of France concerning the administration of Justice in civil and criminal matters wou'd require 3 years hard studey; the administration of Justice both civil and criminal is different in every province each has its own coustoms (coutumes) and each coutume is commonly very different. Hence an able Lawer for example in the isle of France wou'd make an ignorant one in Languedoc where they follow the roman law (le droit ceu't). As to appealing from one parliament to another there is no such thing, each parliament is independent one of another and all depend upon the King: Yet how far the king's authority may in Justice limit & controll his parliaments proceedings is hard to determine. Apply to a Parliamentarian for a solution he will restrain his Master's authority as much as possible: Ask a Minister, his answer is ready at hand. Sr the King's power is bound less because by this means he hopes his will be so too.

What is certain you may appeal from any parliament (if not by fair means at least by foul) to the great council (grand conseil.) This in french is not call'd appealing but évoque du parlement au grand conseil. Cui est un abus et n'a lieu que quand l'une des partias est assez puipante pouv le faire; ou pretend que relui qui a assez de credit pour faire êvoquer ainsi sou proce's du parlement au grand conseil est sur de le gagner.

However there is one case where one may justly appeal from the Parliament to the great councill videlicet when the Parliament issues out an a orêt contrary to an express law: this even is termed in french se pouvoir en cessation d'aviêt du This expression was probably invented by some parliamentarian in order not to make use of the word appealing which denotes a Superiour merit of Justice que messieurs de parlement ent etè en tout tems bien jachés de recoinnoitre. You secm to be vastly disgusted at our People; I am fully persuaded you have reason to be so. Perhaps the orders that have been sent from England to your Gouvernour may check their malice, they are not, I suppose, so audacious as to trangress them. Who knows but that they will become milder & treatable, when they begin to grow more civilised, for I take 'em to be at present an uncultivated insolent rabble. I thank you kindly for the list you sent me of your french books, & the permission you give me of buying such as I think proper; I shall not make an ill use of it: I intend only to buy such as are usefull & entertaining & the most esteemed in the french language, for example their best Dramatick poets & some others as Boileau Rousseau &c. I have all ready bought a fine, new & correct in 4° edition of all Cicero's works by l'abbe d'olivet. The edition in usum Delphine does not comprise all Ciceros works & is not near so much esteemed as what I have.

Immediately upon the reception of your letter I went to the Academy, it will not cost me so dear as I was informed; for a  $162^{\pounds}$  I may acquire a sufficient knowledge in the art of riding I intend to continue as long as I stay here. I desire to be remembered to my Mama in the most affectionate manner; I

shall answer her letter by the 1<sup>st</sup> oportunity mine has allready passed the bounds of one. Assure her of my Love & duty as also my Grand Mama & my Aunt Jenny: My kind compliments to the two Croxals to M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Lawson & their Children & to D<sup>r</sup> Lyon. I am D<sup>r</sup> Papa

Your most affectionate & dutifull Son

August the 14th, 1759.

C: Carroll.

Dr Papa & Mama,

[43]

I take this oportunity of acquainting you of my safe arrival in London; I left Paris the 11 instant & arrived here the 24<sup>th</sup>. Mr Diggs the bearer of this letter did me the favour of calling on me a day or two before he sett off for Maryland; I desire you to receive him civilly & politely but this admonition I am persuaded is unnecessary. I am at present exceeding busy in getting all things to rights, so I have not time to be so circumstanciall as I wou'd desire. I can only say I have allready got into chambers I find them handsome & convenient, but of this Mr Diggs will better inform you, he is actually with me: I am to pay £140 a year.

My Journey hither has been very expensive on account of my heavy baggage & the duties I have been obliged to pay for my books and other things. Mr Diggs will deliver you the 28th Lettre edifiante as likewise my Mama's Snuff box. I hope it will please her: I think it a pretty one & of a very good taste its certainly the latest: I have got by me le nouveau testament du Pere Berryer as also his epistles; but as I have not as yet read em, & as I dont like to incommode Mr Diggs with so many books, I shall send em by an other opportunity. I have bought a good number of french books I shall give you a list of em, & lett you know what they cost. More money will be necessary in my present sejour, than in any I have hithertoo been how much I really cant determin; it depends upon the company I shall keep, if I get into the grand monde it will be very expensive. I must keep a servant I begin to find one absolutely necessary.

I have a number of things to say, but time does not permit me. All your friends & acquaintance in Paris particularly M<sup>r</sup> Crookshanks give their kindest compliments to you. I had allmost forgot to tell you that M<sup>r</sup> Crookshanks & myself by a deal of trouble & bustle have at length obtained 1200<sup>£</sup> of the 4800; it was paid to M<sup>r</sup> Crookshanks in my presence the very day I left Paris, & he was promised to be payd the same sum the following week; they are not able to pay it all togeather, & really I dispair'd of its ever being pay'd. M<sup>r</sup> Diggs will tell you what the shortness of time will not permit me to do: the next letter I write shall be fuller & more satisfactory: in the mean while, I remain D<sup>r</sup> Papa and Mama

Your most dutifull & affectionate Son

Scpt the 27th, 1759

C: Carroll.

Nov<sup>r</sup> the 13<sup>th</sup> 1759 [44]

Dr Papa and Mama

I hope Mr Diggs has delivered you my letter & the last volume of the Lettres edifiantes, and a snuff box for my mama, which I hope will please her my compliments to Mr Diggs and thank him from me for the trouble he has taken. I lately received a letter from you dated the 16th August, which gives the most sensible satisfaction of hearing you are well: as to the news therein contained I allready knew, but am not the less obliged to you: I imagine you will now have no more news to write me, as our American war, will I dare say be finish'd by the reduction of Quebec. I Iam allmost settled at present: as Mr Twinkio is but lately come to town I have but Just begun to Study the common law; I have bought by that gentleman's advice Woods institutes and Jacobi's dictionary of law terms; if you have any good law books, I think it would not be improper to send me 'em, if of no use to you, by that means I shall avoid a considerable expence. I shou'd be glad to know wether you wou'd have me entered of the temple; as the Roman Catholick religion is an obstacle to my being call'd to the Bar, I dont see the necessity or need of it, especially as I cannot be entered as a member under 20 pounds.

I am not as yet able to determine how much my expences may amount to: and this greatly depends on the footing you intend I shou'd be upon. I have hitherto been without a Servant but as a servant is absolutely necessary, I propose getting one soon; his cloths and board wagers will cost me 40 Pounds a year: my chambers cost me exactly that sum; my washing (a very dear article in London) will amount to 9 or 10 pounds: add to this, fewel, my own living, and other extraordinary expences such as buying law-books, parties of pleasure, riding into the country, going to the play (for these amusements are necessary and innocent) all this, I say, will come to a good deal of money especially in a country so extravagantly dear as this is. Pray let me know what you think will be genteel and sufficiently of this you are a better Judge than myself, and I am persuaded as you have allways acted with generosity in my regard, you will continue to do so: but let me take the liberty to remind you that it will be more necessary I shou'd appear in a proper genteel handsome way in my present station than in France, as you are much more known in one country than in the other besides frequenting company will draw on expences, which a College life is exempt from.

My Present station is widely different from any I have hitherto been in, and tho' I have been happy in all the different scenes thro' which I have passed, yet my present sejour promises to turn out the most agreable of all: my Chambers are genteel and convenient and in the most wholesome pleasant part of the temple. The choice of good company is the most difficult & yet the most important article, in which the temple appears to be deficient, tho extremely convenient in every other point, few young gentleman are here to be found of sound moralls I cou'd pardon a little obscenety, provided it be not too barcfaced and extended no farther than words: castum decet esse Poetam, says a chaste Latin Author, versiculor esse castos o decet: however this doctrine I am sensible is not too Christian and if a Jansenist should chance to see this, I shou'd certainly fall

under his censure, & be Accused of having adopted la moralc relachée des Molinistes the most hideous of all crimes in a Jansenists eye. I am persuaded you foresaw this difficulty & having foreseen it to expose me to such danger is paying me the highest compliment, which I cannot better answer than by not abusing of the confidence you place in my good behaviour Tho' indeed no place in itself can be the Seat of virtue, as none can be secure from vice; and a person naturally inclined to be vitious and not able to subdue his passions, wou'd in the very cloistre seek to gratify 'em, and infalably succeed in his desseir, how soever great the difficulties he has to encounter and surmount, may be [Mr Crookshanks has not been payed the 1200 livres as he was promised: the payment was postponed to another time.] The King of France has Stop'd the interest for a year of money sent him: this shews that his kingdom is reduced to the greatest extremity or else they wou'd never have consented to a remedy for this present exigencies so fatal to their credit and so serviceable to their enemies: The King of Prussia notwithstanding his great losses keeps his ground, nay I think seems to be gaining ground upon the Austrianes: Politicians here are of the opinion that the Russians have been bought off; how true I won't pretend to say; but really their slow way of acting after their victory seems to favour this opinion: tho perhaps what we attribute to corruption may proceed from their policy; They wou'd perhaps be glad to see the Russians and Austrians so weakened by their mutual losses, as to be able to dictate to both what terms of peace they shou'd think proper for their own interest to empose. I think I have said all I had to say: by the next time I write something new will occur & make the Subject of as long & tedious a letter as this is: till then I remain Dr Papa & Mama

Your affectionate and dutifull Son

C: Carroll.

P. S. be pleased to send by the 1<sup>st</sup> oportunity 2 pounds of gentian root, 2 red birds a mocking bird a live if possible, if

not preserve in his feathers and a dead humming bird preserved also and some of the best peach plants. My Love and duty to my Grand Mama & Aunt Genny my compliments to the Croxalls, to M<sup>r</sup> and Mrs. Lawson and to D<sup>r</sup> Lyon. Would it be proper for me to go to visit M<sup>r</sup> Bladen late governour of Maryland? is there a good understanding between you? this I ask you because I remember few governors & you used to agree; I shou'd not care to pay such a compliment as a visit to any person you don't like or esteem.

Dr. Papa [45]

My last was dated the 13th of Nob. I have received several Letters from you since most of them copies. Yours of Sept. 22d came to hand a few days ago: you seem to complain of my not keeping my word of writing to you six times a year. makes the 7th Letter I wrote to you Janur. 17th, Febr. 17th, Juin the 22d, August the 14th, Novb. 13th and one by Mr. Diggs upon my arrival in London. I must acknowledge that there appears some unsteadiness in my resolution of guitting Paris: but that is not to be attributed to me but the times. I had resolved upon setting out from Paris in the beginning of Sept. but my friends persuaded me to lay aside that resolution, as it might expose me to dangers and difficulties supposed to be occasioned by an invasion I cou'd not at first persuade myself the French were serious but the vigorous preparations that were carried on all along the sea-coast at last convinced me they intended to invade some part of the British dominions: but la Clue's defeat put an end to their project: after that blow it was out of their power of attempting it, at least with any prospect of success. My silence in regard to these preparations proceeded not from neglect, but from thought and reason, Had I mentioned anything concerning them, my Letters wou'd certainly have been stopped, perhaps something worse might have happened. Thus am I vindicated from neglect and unsteadiness: perhaps I may clear myself

also of your reproach of my not being punctual in my proinises. I really had promised my Mama a curious and interesting Letter and such I flatter myself it wou'd have been (for I am persuaded that anything that regards me so nearly as that Letter did, wou'd have been agreable to her.) It was wrote by a gentleman of my acquaintance at Bourges to one of his: he therein gave his opinion of me so much the more freely as he thought it wou'd never have fallen into my hands: I unluckely lossed in packing up my papers at my departure from Bourges: I remember some particulars: but beg to be excused from mentioning them; I might exaggerate some, diminish others for how is it possible not to be partial when we are talking or writing of ourselves [The letters you lcft with Mr. Crookshanks are still in his hands, the few that remained with me concerning that affair I burnt for greater security, as also the memorial you drew up to be presented to the M---. You judged prudently in not giving up the 200 guineas for lost. I received yesterday a Letter from Mr. Crookshanks with advice of his being paid the £4800 I shall transcribe his words-I pleaded hard against the threatened stoppage I remembered you so much dreaded, and prevailed at length with much adoe. In so very critical times I dare not trust to any bankers bill here otherwise shou'd have remitted it to you. [You see by this how low publick credit is at present in France. You know I cant have a more real pleasure than that of being serviceable to yourself or worthy Papa: pray assure him of my tenderest thoughts and best wishes, when you have occasion to write to him. I have drawn out an account of my expenses from the time of the last account, till my arrival in London. They expences of my journey from Paris to London are not quite copied out, when they are I shall send them all together. How much my expences in London will amount to every year I am not able to determine even to guess at: this I know that to appear genteely and with credit, to pay my Logings, to keep a Servant &c anything under 300£ will be too stinting; but believe

that sum a just and handsome allowance. This Letter is to go off to night; else I shou'd answer my Mama's Letter more at length: she seems to like Maryland better than any other country: i'ts natural; she has seen no other, knowes no other, and has friends in no other. Perhaps had she been as long absent from it, as I have been; that love so undeservedly bestowed on an ungreatfull country, wou'd be greatly diminished I cant conceive how any Roman Catholick especially an Irish Roman Catholick can consent to Live in England or any the British dominions, if he is able to do otherwise. Its true we are quiet and unmolested at present; because the reigning king is not prejudiced against us: but the most tyranical laws are still subsisting, they can be put into execution to day to morrow, whenever it shall please the King for the parliament wou'd allways readily comply with such a demand. Now where is the man of spirit that can behold the rod lifted up, tremble and kiss the hand of him that holds it. [at this thought and remembrance of all the wrongs we have unjustly suffered, I cou'd wish with Dido exonare aligens nostris ex opibus ultor &c] Notwithstanding my natural aversion to all such oppressions, and to an humble, silent, groveling submission, I cou'd even rather bear all this, than be deprived of the pleasure and comfort of living happily together. I am Dr. Papa

Your most dutyfull and affectionate Son

C. Carroll.

P. S. I shall take care to forward Monsieur de Buisson's Letter. I desire my Love and duty to my Grand-Mamá & to my Aunt Jenny, shall comply with her request of sending her a design of my own fancy; it will not be comical. I am of serious turn of mind & think grow more so daily. My compliments to Mr. Lawson; I have seen his Son and think him a fine youth; he is set off for Cambridge & I dont doubt in the least of his doing well. I have received Mr. Croxall's Letter in answer to mine as also Mr. Lawson's: my compliments to the former & to Mrs. Lawson, to Dr. Lyon &c.

The King of Prussia, at least his forces have met with another overthrow. Generals Finck & Wunch have with 20-000 men been surrounded & taken Prisoners of war by Marshal Dawn, with the loss of all their artillery, baggage &c. Great talk of a peace; the success we have had will oblige the French to come into a very dishounourable peace for them: Some Pretend to say that the ministers of the respective powers at war have mett together at the Hague: wether true or not I cant say.

Decb. the 10th 1759.

Dr. Papa [46]

I am just informed of an oportunity of writing to you a line or two: a convict ship is ready to set sail for Maryland, the captain is acquainted with you, I know his name, but know not how to write it. I think it is Macklorkley or some such thing. My last Letter was dated the 13<sup>th</sup> of last month: by that you have seen that Mr. Crookshanks has received at last the 4800£ a sum a long while ago despaired of and gave over for lost by me.

I have nothing material to say at present: I am well hope you are, wish you a merry Christmas, a happy new year and many of them. This is particularly in answer to my Mama. I let her know by my last the reasons of my not sending the promised and so much wished for Letter, these reasons must certainly be found good, tho' perhaps they will not satisfy her curiosity, even may increase it, when she finds by them, what the subject of that Letter was to be. Yet I can supply her with means to gratify that passion so natural to all women, namely curiosity. She may ask of others, as for example of Mr. Rozer & Mr Plater, who both have seen me, their opinion, & by their reports, form her own. This will be the surest way not to be deceived: that Love so natural to Parents for their children, prejudice &c may make her too partial in my favour. Parents like Lovers are apt to be so much blinded

as not to discover the faults of their Children, unless strongly pointed out, or perhaps to think those very faults good qualities. Turpia de cipiunt cecum vita, aut etiem ipsa hec delectant veluti Balbinum polypus Haque. I am not at all surprised at the great desires my Mama expresses of seing me; tis natural; I shou'd be surprised if she had not that desire; if an interview between us depended only on desires, as they are mutual, it wou'd a long time ago have been brought about, I am as yet to undergo 3 or 4 years banishment, such is your will and such my inclination, as I know it conformable to yours & beneficial to me. My kindest compliments to my Cousin Rachael Darnell; I am touched at what she suffers or has suffered from an ungratefull husband, if I cou'd afford her any relief or comfort I wou'd do it with all my heart, not meerly as to a relation, but even as to an unfortunate person, undeserving of the ills she has undergone. All I can say is to recommend to her patience & resignation, the best tho' poor resource of the afflicted. My tender Love to my Grand Mama & to my Aunt Genny & the compliment of the season the same to all my friends, as to Mr. & Mrs. Lawson, the two Croxalls, Doctor Lyon &c.

I am Dr. Papa and Mama Your most affectionate and dutifull Son

Decr. 26th, 1759.

Ch: Carroll.

Dec. 26, 1759.

Dr. Papa

As I see by the papers that the ship by which I sent the original of this, is lossed I here send you the copy. It is scarce worth transcribing. My last letter was dated ye 13th of last month, in that I let you know that Mr. Crookshanks had received ye 4800£, a sum quite despaired of by me. Thus I see we must never give up any thing is this world. . . . . [Enclosed in letter of Jan. 29, 1769. From this point it is substantially a duplicate of preceding letter.]

[Jan. 29th, 1760] [47]

Dr. Papa

I received a few days ago yours of the 6th of Octr. never was Letter more agreeable or more instructive. That my present situation is the most dangerous of any I have hitherto been in is evident: advice is necessary but most of all a sufficient resolution to put good advice in execution. Few are so blinded as not to see their duty; but how few are there who follow it? Who is so profligate as not to love and esteem virtue: vet how seldom is the man to be found who sticks up to its true principles. Young person's passions are strong of themselves & need no outward encouragement; but when roused by occasions, strengthened by example, fired with wine & jovial company become almost irresistible. Tis therefore with the greatest prudence and forecast you recommend to me the choice of my company. A matter really difficult in London, but most so among young men. O tempora! O mores! Men ashamed of appearing virtuous I have seen none, but several guilty of criminal actions, who deemed them & least pretended to deem them indifferent. That the greatest resolution, prudence & virtue are requisite to protect me from such contagion is undoubted. Here is the place for protestations of the most heroic virtue: but such protestations are not conformable to my way of thinking, besides they imply presumption and too much self confidence. I never like to promise unless morally certain of being able to fulfill my promise: and who can promise to others even to himself to remain always virtuous. I am now in an open sea, hitherto I have rode triumphantly: I have met with shoals and sands which tho' perhaps not avoided by me with all the skillfulness of an understanding pilot, have not occasioned a shipwreck.

The chair for a Professor of the common law is established at Oxford: he is a man of parts, answers the expectation of the publick & believe will be very beneficial to those who profit of his lectures from the number of these I am excluded by my religion as it is only intended for the use and instruction of

the Students of the University. Such an Institution was eertainly very much wanted, and tis to be wondered at why it was not thought of & executed sooner. The difficulty of the common law proceeds ehiefly from its want of a certain method & order, which perhaps this gentleman may introduce into it, at present it is a mere chaos, rudis indigestaque moles, which added to the natural dryness of this study, renders it almost insupportable to every beginner. However neither its diffieulty or dryness frighten me; I am eonvinced of its utility and therefore am resolved at all hazards to plunge into this Chaos, I expect to meet with no smaler difficulties than attended Satan on his voyage thro' the primeval one: but I shall not be alone & without a guide: Mr. Tuinihoe will assist me as much as his affairs will permit him. I have begun to read Wood's institutes by the recommendation of that gentleman. As my Grand Father went thro' a regular study of the law in the temple he must have had a considerable number of law books; these I suppose, remain in a great measure in your hands: wou'd it be improper to send me such as are the most useful & necessary? law books are extremely dear: this would save a considerable expence: That a common place book if properly digested is useful, is I believe commonly allowed. Notwithstanding in my opinion no person ought to enter upon any such scheme, till he is pretty well versed in the law. The reason is obvious: if a raw beginner immediately undertakes to make remarks & commit them to paper, they must be trivial & of course not worth penning down. You have laid a very heavy task upon me, but very undesignedly I dare say. I mean the reading of all the pamphlets that make their appearance in this town for a day or two, then die, are buried & forgotten. Without troubling myself with the perusal of such nonsense I shall be able to send you those that merit your reading; for such recommended by their own intrinsic value will be talked of by the Publick. There is at present one that has met with publick approbation, and very deservedly; but of this vou will yourself be better able to judge after having red it. Its entitled a Letter to two great men. The end is particularly

remarkable. This naturally leads me into some reflections started in your Letter. A change in our constitution is I think near at hand. Our dear bought Liberty stands upon the brink of destruction. The reasons are pointed out in the abovementioned pamphlet. Is such a change to be wished for by Roman Catholicks? They enjoy great peace and tranquility under his present Majesty I mean in England. perhaps enjoy the same hereafter in Marvland: but men's minds and dispositions in that country must undergo a great change, before so favorable a revolution can happen. How is our Lord Proprietor disposed? if credit can be given to certain reports he is not master of his own will, but a mere weather cock to point out where the wind blows from. This is not my sentiment or private opinion. Nay I believe it. As I have never seen his Lordship I am unable to form any idea of him, when I shall have that honour I really can't say, if ever the occasion presents itself, I shall embrace it. God be thank'd that I am born to an independant fortune, for I never shou'd have acquired one by a servile dependence on the Great. I have too much pride to cringe and too much sincerity to flatter: both necessary to that man whose hopes are grounded on the Great men. I can't close this Letter without touching on that part of yours precautioning me against too great familiarities with women. A most necessary precaution indeed: for what so deceiving, what so engaging as women! I have often wondered when Providence has bestowed such art such sagacity on that sex, and at the same time so much beauty. However set aside the charms of beauty, all their alluring inveighling arts will avail them little; for I have frequently remarked, that the most beautiful are always the most powerful, at least with me. I would defy an uggly woman endowed with all the sagacity of a sphinx ever to entrap me. Your advice with regard to my countrymen here, shall be most scrupulously followed, melins enim est entril quam parum dicere of such young gentlemen: by saying Little it might be enterpreted, that little is to be said in their favour, and as to saying a great deal—that I must decline, as I have neither time nor a turn for panegerick. I think I may now safely end this overgrown Letter. I am Dr. Papa

Your most dutiful & Loving Son,

C. Carroll.

[A duplicate of this date differs slightly in text.]

[Feb. 30th, 1760] [48]

Dr. Papa

The inclosed is a copy of my last Mr. Stevens was so obliging as to charge himself with this. I cou'd not let slip so fair an opportunity of writing a few lines. I say a few lines, for really since my last long Letter little remains to be said: I intend to send by Mr. Perkin's ship a copy of this Letter together with the new testament of Pere Berruger and his epistles, an account of my expences from the last to my arrival in England, the Letter addressed to two great men. The new Professor of the common law has published lately an Analysis of the laws of England with an introductory discourse on the usefulness of the study of those laws, and a treaty on descents all which I have bought.

I omitted in my last to answer that part of your Letter relating to my expenses, not being then able to determine how much they wou'd amount to. At present I think I may give a good guess. 40 pounds for the rent of my chambers and 35-16-0 to my servant, his board wages included are 75£ 16s 0d now putting my own Living at 60 pounds a year we have a 135£ 16s 0d which joined to 30 pounds expended in buying several little conveniencies for my chambers, as tables, a set of China, cups and saucers a few plates and dishes, glasses, punch bowls a dozen of silver tea spoons, tongs &c (all which I assure you are necessary for no young gentleman that has a mind to appear genteel can go without them) make 165£ 16d 0 my expence in clothes will amount to 30, for I brought but two suits from France and those can be wore only on particular

occasions; washing will cost 8 or 10£ a year which if added to 165-16-0 we have in all 205£ 16d 0 there remains out of 250£, my allowance, but 44-4-0 a sum which I leave you to judge, wether sufficient for private expences, as playing at cards, diversions, going to the play, riding out on parties of pleasure &c. I must own to have put the several articles of these expenses at a round tho' no ways exagerated computation. What has been laid out this year in furnishing my chambers and in dress is a peculiar expence incident to every setting out. Be persuaded of this that I shan't fool away my money; & shall endeavour to act with economy and at the same time appear genteel, so as to avoid all imputation of meanness, but of the 4800 Livres received of Mr. Crookshanks, 271-12-0 have been deducted (for expences at different times for payment 27£-18-0, for yr order to Mr. Crookshanks 240-0 postage 3-14-0) thus there remains 4528£-8-0 which has been remitted to me and makes of our money 190£-5s-1/3.

I have not enjoyed of Late as good a state of health as usual, I have been advised to keep a horse; but don't think proper so to do till I know y<sup>r</sup> opinion of the matter, the keeping a horse (prime cost not included) will stand me in 35 pounds a year if not 40.

I shou'd be glad to know, if you think proper, how long you intend to keep me in London: three years in my opinion with all due defferance to yours, will be sufficient to acquire a competent knowledge of the law, so far as will be necessary & useful to me. If you have a mind I shou'd thoroughly understand the law, and become another Lord Mansfield, a serious application of twenty years aided by a bright capacity will not enable me to attain to such perfection.

By y<sup>r</sup> last you seem still resolved upon Leaving Maryland; I must own you have a great reason to be displeased with the people; yet as much as I can learn concerning the country ut sic you won't be able to exchange it for a better, and as the people become more civilized we may reasonably hope that their prejudices and animosity will wear off with time. True happiness on earth is not to be met with until ea ac parte bea-

tum. We suffer at present in Maryland for our religion, that same religion exposes us in England to the very same oppression, which tho' not openly exercised even suspended for the present may brake out a new whenever our government thinks proper. If you repair to France there you will only exchange religious for civil Tyranny, and In my opinion of the two the greatest evil. Civil oppression has nothing to console us; religious persecutions are always attended with this consolation at least, of not going unrewarded.

When I first took up my pen I was only to write a few lines, however I think I have made shift to compose a long Letter: before I end it I must beg a favor of you.

I shall be much obliged to you if you can contrive to send me some good Madera wine, what we have here is so detestable that I can't drink it. As I drink no malt liquor and as cyder does not agree with me I am obliged to have recourse to wine & water. I desire my sincerest Love & duty to my Mama, shall write to her at Large when I send the copy of this Letter. I am Dr. Papa

Your most affectionate and dutifull son,

C. Carroll.

P. S. My Love and duty to my Grand Mama & Aunt Genny my compliments to  $M^{rs}$ . &  $M^r$ . Lawson to the two Croxalls & Dr. Lyon.

Dr. Papa [No. 49]

This makes my 4<sup>th</sup> by this fleet; I have wrote by M<sup>r</sup>. Stephenson a very modest youth the highest commendation that can be bestowed upon a young man now a days: by M<sup>r</sup>. Leonards, & the present accompanies the account of my expences, which I put into the hands of M<sup>ss</sup>. Brown & Buchannon two of M<sup>r</sup>. Perkin's Clerks. As those gentlemen upon my arrival in London, behaved very politely to me, & were ready to render me all the service that lay in their power, I beg

it a favour of you, to return their civilities, protect & recommend them.

In your last of the 9th of January you seem to give some hints that new oppressive laws have been introduced against the R. C. The passive indolence of our Proprietary offends you as much as the malice & injustice of our enemies. As I am perfectly ignorant of the Marvland government its laws & power of the Proprietary, I am unable to determin wether he deserves the imputations of meaness & ingratitude. That I may be fully instructed herein you may make this the subject of your next Letter, and send me for my further instruction the Charter of Maryland you brought over with you to Paris. I have seen Mr. Calvert dined with him & my Lord Baltimore at Mr. Sharpe's, brother to our governor & and in appearance a worthy gentleman. Mr. Calvert has returned my visit We had time to discourse at Large upon Maryland affairs; I reminded him of the unjust laws enacted against the Roman C-s hinted at the Proprietarys inactivity, not to use a more severe word, wondered that such tyrannical proceedings of a despicable vile mob, shou'd meet no check from lawful power; that they shou'd be tamely permitted to go on in making arbitrary laws (if they may be call'd by that name) not leveled against the R. C alone but also against the Proprietary family: Laws highly iniquitous in themselves and destructive of that Liberty of conscience which had been granted in the Charter of Maryland & always exurcised there without molestation from the 1st settlement of the Colony to the Revolution. He told me he was much offended at those laws & at the violence of our assembly & some Protestants who had painted the Proprietary in the blackest colours and thrown the most heinious aspersions on him: that one Brooks had brought over & presented to my Lord Halifax a memorial loaded with the deepest & most severe complaints of the R. C & Proprietarys family. That he knew full well their intentions; that in consequence of this memorial he had wrote to the Governor of Maryland to enquire after the conduct of the R C, to examine the sheriffs of the different counties concern-

ing their behaviour & deportment, that their depositions had been unanimous in our favour, that he had by him & wou'd show to me there declarations signed by the sheriffs; that he had shown them to my Lord Halifax as a convincing proof of our innocence, and by the injustice done us by our enemies. What reply cou'd I make to all this? ought I to have asked why the Proprietary being convinced of our innocence permitted that very innocence to groan under oppression, why he approved, or at least by not openly refusing his consent to laws so iniquitious even in his own opinion, tacitly approved of them? I omitted to propose this question & am sorry for it. My Chambers have been painted upon condition that I remain in them three years; you seem to think of keeping me longer here, tho' really I am of opinion that 3 years will suffice what to attain a perfect knowledge of the law? no-but to get a tincture of it, so as to be able to study it, without being obliged to attend the courts of judicature or the assistance of others; and this I may do as well in Maryland as in the temple, perhaps better. Besides several things, you say, of importance will be left me to be disputed must I not be informed of their nature, of our right & title of the pleas of our adversaries? and by whom can I be informed & instructed in all this but by yourself? What must I live all my life time separated from you? What in me have I done to deserve perpetual banishment? but if it is your will & pleasure that I remain 4 years in London I readily submit. You have found me hitherto dutiful and obedient and hope you will always find me so in every respect. Since my arrival in England I have in a manner left off drawing not from disgust, but partly from want of time & a good & cheap master to instruct me. I have, I think I have, a turn for designing but it requires more time & practice, to attain a tolerable skill, than I am willing to bestow, since I can employ my leisure hours much more to my advantage, and even more to my amusement. I learnt to ride about a month & a half, I shall consult the Lottery register.

I am not acquainted with Mr. Bladen, nor do I desire to be since he is a gamester, I detest gaming & gamesters; but

this is not my only reason for declining his acquaintance. I have seen his daughters at a ball.

My Mama's indisposition gives me great uneasiness; I was informed that she was with child, but cou'd not give credit to that report; I have been greatly apprehensive of its turning to a dropsy, but hope my fears are vain, since the swelling is going off without any sensible alteration of her health. My Poor aunt Jenny! but why shou'd I pity her? tis I that am to be pitied who have lossed one who loved me & was dear to me. She certainly now enjoyes the reward of her virtue, sufferings and patience. My Love and duty to my Grand Mama. I am Dr. Papa

Your most dutiful affectionate Son,

C. Carroll.

P. S. One M<sup>r</sup>. Bird a marble merchant, & a very nigh neighbour of mine, A Roman Catholick & a very honnest man, desires to know wether it would be worth his while to send to Maryland marble chimney pieces & tables, if these can meet with a good & profitable debit, he desires also to be further informed of a proper intelligent person on whose honnesty he may depend & make his agent. Pray dont forget to answer this. I shou'd be glad to render M<sup>r</sup>. Bird this little piece of service, as he has behaved in a very civil genteel manner to me. April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1760.

Portsmouth, 15th 1760 [50]

Dr. Papa,

I arrived here the 14<sup>th</sup> almost choked with dust, but have washed it down at last and am now preparing myself for all the wonders of Portsmouth. I am informed the Belle Isle Captain Therrot's ship is in the harbour I propose going on board.

I have nothing particular to mention at present, evcrything material has already been said in my foregoing Letters: Captain Kelty, with whom M<sup>r</sup>. Leonard a german missioner is to go & who has a couple of Letters for you, desired me to give a line or two to introduce him to you.

Mr. Perkins is here with me & several gentlemen of my acquaintance all friends & good natured & chearful, so you may easily Imagine that the short time we stay here, will be spent agreeably.

As to publick news I have nothing at all to impart to you: we have not heard as yet Lord George Sackville trial; some pretend to say it will be degredation & that he will be rendered incapable of all employt.

There are now 500 highlanders in town going to shiped off imediately for the east Indies; they grumble very much cause all blunders & non sense I scarce know what I say. My Love & duty to my Mama & my Grand Mama I am well & better than I have been for some time past.

I am Dr. Papa
Your most dutiful &
Loving Son

C. Carroll.

P. S. Mr. Brown & Buchanan came down with me; they have Letters for you & can satisfy y<sup>r</sup> curiosity in my regard as they know me well. Mr. Perkins gives his kindest compliments to you.

## NOAH WEBSTER IN MARYLAND.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

The Diary of the famous lexicographer, as printed by his Granddaughter, Mrs. Ford, in the first volume of his life, at pages 137 and following, contains some interesting glimpses of a sojourn he made in Baltimore to conduct a singing school. He arrived there from Charleston, South Carolina, by sailing vessel, on July 15, 1785, and lodged first at Mrs. Sanderson's with his New England friends and afterwards at Mrs. Cox's, where two ladies from St. Kitts were also lodging. He remained in the town until November 4, when he went to Virginia. He waited on Dr. Patrick Allison, of the First Presbyterian Church, on the day after his arrival in Baltimore and was offered the use of the church for a singing school. On July 19, Webster met a number of the gentlemen at the church to "agree upon a singing school" and, on the evening of the 25th, he recorded that the first meeting was held and that the people were pleased. He also gave private lessons in music and studied French, with Telemachus as a text-book. His social life seems to have been pleasant, though in a moment of depression he wrote, "I lament that I am in Baltimore." He breakfasted several times with Dr. Allison and once "had a dish of discourse upon my Grammar" with him. Webster also tried to sell some of his books, first at Mr. Snow's and then at Miss Goddard's Shop. He sailed to the fort to meet the East Indian ship, and went on board the Pallas, from China, navigated by three Chinese and a number of Malayans. Again he went for a "walk to Howard's Spring with the ladies," or to Fell's Point, or he rode ten miles into the County with Mr. Gittings" to "pass Sunday with Mrs. Croxall's family." At the election of sheriffs, on October 3, he saw "parties run high and some bloody noses" and, on October 27, he attended the races. "Horse races in these States, every spring and autumn," he

wrote, were "like holidays, like the Election and Thanksgiving in Connecticut. Seven horses enter the lists, five run three four mile heats. The Brilliant wins the purse £75." He notes a terrible storm on September 24, in which many vessels were lost and the marriage of "the Nabob O'Donnell to Miss Elliott" on October 14. Webster's 27th birthday occurred on October 16.

The singing school progressed so well that on September 4, they began to sing in the church and all Baltimore was astonished by his ten scholars. As a result of this public appearance, great additions were made to the school. On September 26 and 27, in company with Messrs. Gardner and Dorsey, he numbered the houses in Baltimore and found one hundred and fifty stores and public buildings, beside "nineteen hundred and fifty dwelling houses, one half of which have been built in three years."

On August 25, he began his "remarks on the English language," and completed the five dissertations on October 6. He carried them to Dr. Allison and, at breakfast and tea, read him extracts from them, which reading induced the clergyman "to permit me to read them as lectures in his church." The lectures were read from October 19 to 26, and "received so much applause" that Webster was "induced to revise and continue reading them in other towns."

On December 26, Webster returned from Virginia to Bladensburg and, on the next day, he went to Baltimore. Sailing thence to Annapolis on the 31st, he arrived "precisely at twelve o'clock P. M." and so "entered Annapolis and the New Year, at the same minute." There he met Governor Smallwood, "a very good kind of character," and found two hundred and sixty houses, "a pleasant city and more elegant houses in proportion than in any town in America; the earth is covered with verdue." On January 4 he went to the Assembly, where he found a "brilliant circle of ladies" and danced with Mrs. Davison, "the wife of an honest Scotchman." Obtaining "permission to read Lectures in the State House" by vote of the House of Delegates, he began them on January 5, with an

audience of "about thirty respectable people." On the next day, when there was a "small fall of snow and cold weather," his audience shrank to fourteen. On the third day he completed his course. Mr. Lloyd, a "senator, a sensible man from the Eastern Shore," told Webster that "great numbers of men, who acknowledge deeds before him cannot write their names." On Sunday, January 8, there was no church. Webster dined on that day with Governor and the Senators and, on Tuesday, he returned to Baltimore. There he stayed until Thursday. On Wednesday evening, he wrote "Visit the Ladies; tell them pretty stories." Starting for Frederick, he arrived there on Friday and met among others: Baker Johnson, Esq., Dr. Philip Thomas, "one of the best of men," Mr. Murdoch, "no great head," and Mr. Runkle, the German Reformed "parson." On Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday he lectured there to an increasing audience. On Saturday, he breakfasted with Mr. Benjamin Oglc and, on Sunday, with Dr. Thomas and Dr. Ridgely. Afterwards he heard Parson Beard and dined with him and with Mrs. Long and Mr. Neil. On the return ride to Baltimore, Webster's horse took a fright, fell and hurt his rider's leg, so that he was lame for several days. On January 30, he took leave of Baltimore and lodged at Charlestown in Cecil County. Thence he rode to Dover to present the Delaware legislature a petition for a copyright law.

## URIA BROWN'S JOURNAL.

OF A JOURNEY FROM THE CITY OF BALTIMORE TO THE STATES OF PENNSYLVANIA, VIRGINIA, OHIO, AND THROUGH SOME PART OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND.

The following journal of travel in 1816 contains no remarkable adventures but the daily record sheds a curious light on the land speculations of the period and records interesting observations of persons and places. The biographical note concerning Uria Brown has been contributed by Mr. Kirk Brown.

Uria Brown, the son of David and Sarah (Brown) Brown, born in Nottingham, Chester County, Pennsylvania, 4th Month 18th, 1769. David Brown was the son of Mercer and Dinah (Churchman) Brown, whose parents were William and Ann (Mercer) Brown. William Brown migrated from Puddington, near Williamsborough, England, 1682, and settled near Marcus Hook, Chester County, Pennsylvania.

William Brown was convinced of Friends' principles in early life, by the preaching of William Dewsbury, an eminent minister, and contemporary of George Fox, in the organization of the Society of Friends.

David Brown, father of Uria Brown, was a blacksmith, with a shop near the Green Tree Tavern, Chester County, Pennsylvania. Uria assisted his father in early life in the shop. He was considered an "Educated Blacksmith."

I have heard my father, who called him uncle Uria, say he was a well educated man, for his time, versed in surveying, conveyancing, etc.

Uria Brown, married Mary Brown, daughter of Jacob and Mary Brown, 1st. Month 10th. 1793.

1807 Nottingham Monthly Meeting of Friends granted Uria Brown, his wife Mary, and children, Elizabeth, Sarah, Maria, and Dina Brown, a certificate to Baltimore Monthly Meeting, of Friends.

Here Uria took up his business of surveying and conveyancing.

The McKim's Free School, Baltimore and Asquith streets, was established in 1821, Uria Brown being the first teacher of the school.

I copy from the minutes of Trustees of McKim's School, his application for the position of teacher.

"At a meeting of Trustees of McKim's School, held 1st Mo. 22nd. 1821.

"Uria Brown, a member of the society of Friends, who proposes to qualify himself for a situation, by a strict personal attendance in a school or schools, taught upon the 'Lancasterian' system, for 4 weeks, in which time he conceives he can become sufficiently qualified to undertake the station of a teacher of McKim's school, and he therefore wishes to be considered as a candidate, at the salary of \$450.00 per annum."

He was elected teacher, and held the position until 10th, Month, 8th, 1827, when he resigned.

The roll book of McKim's School, show 88 pupils for 3rd. Month, 100 for 4th Mo., 104 for 5th Mo., 106 for 6th Mo., 1821, with a very full attendance.

Uria continued his business as surveyor and conveyancer in Baltimore until he started upon his Western trip, for an account of which we have his Mss.,—Diary or Journal.

1816. Baltimore. 6th. Mo. 2nd. of the Week & 3d. of the Month. This day received of John Trimble, Merchant of and in the City of Baltimore, One Hundred dollars, it being on purpose for bearing my Expences on the intended journey for which I gave him my receipt Specifying the Sum & for what purpose.

4th. This morning left my family; paid 3 Cents at the Falls-Turnpike-Road or Gate; 183/4 Cents at the Trap, 25 Cents at the White house; Din'd at Robert Sinclairs. Spent the remainder of the day in making Arrangements for the going up of my Barn & Conducting of my farm for the Ensuing Summer. Suped and Lodged at Wm. Goulds.

5th. This Morning Breakfasted with Wm. & Mahlon Kirk. Din'd at John Knight's, proceeded to Powhatten Cotton Manufactory, from thence on the painted path to Jonney Cake Town; thence to the Union Cotton factory thence to Ellicott's 10 Mile Mills. Sup'd & Lodged with John Ellicott; received much friendly information from him respecting the Stages & places right & necessary for to proceed to & Stop at on my intended Journey.

I might have observed that before I left Batlimore I paid for repairing Saddle & Saddle Bags 25 cents, 50 cents for a Lock for the Saddle & Bags and 3 Dollars for a Blanket, in

|                |               |           |           |      | / |         |
|----------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|------|---|---------|
| all .          |               |           |           |      |   | \$3.75  |
| I paid for th  | e present Bo  | ok \$1.25 |           |      |   | 0.00    |
| I also paid in | Baltimore f   | or Shorts | & Straw   |      |   | 0.64    |
| To the amoun   | nt of Expense | es brough | t from pa | ge 1 |   | 0.443/4 |

N. B. When I commenced on this Expedition I had in my pocket of my Own Money which I have Laid Out . \$10.00

besides One Dollar I paid John Stevenson's Wife for Cost on Barney Donahoo on my way out of Baltimore.

6th. This morning took Breakfast with John Ellicott, proceeded up the Frederick Road in Anne Arundle County to the gate, paid 91/2 Cents, continued on Said Road 8 Miles from Ellicotts to a tan yard, a turn'd off the Road to the Right 4 Miles through a Hill Country to Warfield's Mill. Crossed 1 Branch of the Patapsco into Baltimore County thence 4 Miles to a quite small Town (on the Liberty Road) called Freedom, Dined and Fed \$0.50. 20 Miles from Baltimore from the tan yard to this place. No farmers, a poor Hill Country well watered & adapted to Plaster without Doubt; thence 16 miles through a Hill Country well adapted to Plaster & well watered, in a High State of Cultivation, Farmers equal to Brandywine, the Buildings in General Not So Good, to a Handsome Town Called Liberty, in Frederick County & there fed \$0.183/4, thence 5 Miles through a Hill Country well water'd & Adapted to Plaster the Farmers Not quite So good as would be best for them, to a Snug Little Town called Woods Borough put up at Colonel Barricks, Sine of the White Horse, Sup'd & took Breakfast this Morning (7th.) my Bill \$1.50 thence 3 Miles Crossing the Monocacy a Beautiful & heavy stream to Creggers Town a Nice Village, the Land to this place was in a high State of Cultivation, well watered & well Adapted to Plaster. Buildings Elegant; thence 5 Miles through a flat Low Country to Mechanicks Town (at the foot of the Catoctin Mountain) there is stone enough in this Town to pave & fence it without Halling; thence 6 Miles up the foot of this Mountain to Harbaugh's Gap where I enter'd the Mountain; & went 7 Miles through, (in passing through there was a valley which contained Several tolerable good Plantations) to an Inn the Cross Keys Not of the first rank by a good ways & fed \$0.25 thence 3 Miles through a beautiful Hill Country in a High State of cultivation well watered & well Adapted to plaster, with Good buildings, to Waines-burgh a Post Town in the State of Pennsylvania, County of Franklin & Township of Washington, about 2 O'clock

& Dined; & had a friendly interview with William Bleakney Esquire a Merchant in this place who has undertook to Search the records at Chambersburgh for the 17½ Acres of Clement Brookes Land Near Wains-Ville <sup>1</sup> in Pennsylvania & forward mc an account of the Same at Clarksburgh in Harrison County, Virginia. Last Night frost So as to kill the Beans &c, &c. Yesterday & to Day So Cold that I wore my Great Coat each day.

8th day. Wrote a letter to John Trimble informing that I could Not find the 171/4 Acres of Land near Waines Ville and Paid my Bill which is with 11½ Cents of paper \$2.01½ including my Breakfast this Morning. This Inn is kept by John Coughran Sine of the Green tree, thence 6 miles (through a Hill Country in good state of Cultivation, well watered & well Adapted to Plaster) to Washington County State of Maryland: Thence 6 Miles through a beautiful Limestone Country as ever my Eye beheld not Level nor yet Hilly. the fields abound with Locusts and Walnuts, woods also: Clover big enough to Mow, wheat dont look any better than in the Hill Countrys, Corn ankle high & the ground nicely farmed, scarce of Water and wood the South Mountain in full view to the Left all the way the whole a delightful prospect to Hagers-Town. Dined & fed at Jesse Brown's Hotel an Inn kept in High Stile with Billiard Room &c. &c. &c. made Considerable enquiry in this place respecting the 171/4 Aeres of Clements Brook Land, all to know purpose; my Expences here was \$1.00 thence 6 Miles through a handsome Country full of Limestone Walnuts & Locusts, but scarce of Water & badly farm'd; to a snug Village Called Williams-Port, situated on the Banks of the Potomac River which is 1/4 of a Mile wide precisely where Big Connecocheague emptys into the Potomae, the Prospect here Romantick and beautiful, Crossed the River in a Flat 20 Minutes on the water & paid \$0.121/2 while Crossing saw 2 Waggons fording the same with Safety. I am now in Virginia in Berkly County, thence 19 Miles part through a Slaty poor Barren Country, the greater part of the way next Martinsburgh Lime Stone very

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Waynesboro, Franklin County.

Troublesome both in the Road and fields the woods also & very scruby timber or rather Wood Interspers'd here & there with Walnut & Locusts & badly farmed in general; of Course this Last 19 Miles looks rough & bad To Martins-Burgh where I put up at Andrew Goulding the Union Inn who was very kind & accommodating to me in assisting me to get the offices searched on first day Morning.

First day morning & 9th of the Mo:) Frost, goes to the Barber & had liberty to pay for shaving only Captain Robert Wilson so accommodating as to search the Office for recording Deeds, the office for the reception of the Taxable inhabitants of Berkly County: thence to the Superior Courts office: For said County but no Account of the three Houses & Lots 16 ft Both as represented in the Schedule can be found, or any other property in this County for Clement Brook: paid Capt Wilson for his search paid in the Superior Courts office \$0.00 \$0.00 Martins-Burgh is a County-Town & Post Town situated in a Rough Lime Stone rocky high piece of ground, it lays high & Dry, the North Mountain about 5 Miles Distant in full View, which affords a romantick prospect. Some good Lime Stone Buildings, a few Brick houses; too many frame & Log Houses, Looks rather Antient for Comfort to the Eye. People Hospitable & kind, the Bell now ring for Church: My Bill here & from the appearance of the Publick Buildings Berkley County must be poor. thence 5 miles through a rough Country full of Lime stone so as to be troublesome in the roads & fields some Locusts, Woods not good, and bad farming to the foot of the North Mountain; thence 20 Miles through the North Mountain & over the poorest Ugly Hills I ever saw, Abounded with pines of a scruby kind, Jack Oaks and other Scrub Wood the Roads tolerable smoothe but Extremely Hilly & tolerably well watered, with a few Miserable poor farms & several Saw Mills and 2 or 3 Grist Mills to the Town of Bath, at the Warm Springs; this place bears the Name of Berkley Springs in the

List of Post Towns; it is situated in a handsome narrow Valley directly at the foot of a Mountain called the ridge which when on the Top you are in Hampshire County, this Mountain bears N. 31° E. Out of which Ushers several Large, strong and beautiful Springs, called the Warm Springs the Water tastes warm & soft the more you Drink the Better it will be liked & Can't drink as much as will do hurt; if 40 or fifty 11/2 & 2 Story Log houses that is abandoned Haunted and frequented with Cows, Sheep & Hogs, the Doors & Windows all carried away & the Chunking Rockets out the roofs a flying away were all set on fire the Houses Left: with the very Romantick Appearance of the Mountains on each side the Lovely appearance of the Valley with the Spring Branch which is sufficiently large to run a Grist or Saw Mill running through the Valley, the whole taken together affords in the summer Season an Elegant Romantick Prospect; it is Visited in the Summer seasons from 5 to 7 hundred of Both Sexes in Order to Bathe & Drink Water which seldom fails to Cure Rheumatism & Billious Complaints; I think from the effects of the Water it would be Excellent for the Dropsy. Bath or Bathing Houses, for each Sex are provided, as well Billiard rooms for the Gamblers & many other matters in high stile fare at \$10.00 pr week. The people here are in high spirits of Having the County Divided & then Berkley Springs becomes a County-Town I arrived here six o'Clock this Evening put up at Major Bayly's, was presently accompanied to the Springs by James W. Wheat, A Deputy Surveyor & a Conveyancer who was friendly with me, & gave me what information he Could respecting the 3 houses & Lots as represented in the Schedule annex'd to the Deed of Trust from Clement Brook to Wm Lee & Jnº Trimble.

6<sup>th</sup> Mo: 10<sup>th</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> of the week. This morning delivered a Letter to John Robinson Merchant of this place which formed an acquaintance, he also showed a friendly disposition & rendered me what Assistance and Advice he Could, was introduced to John Sherrod, Collector of the direct tax

for 1815, Who is an amiable young Gentleman & lent me a friendly hand in the business; Also introduced to John Hunter Esqr who was exceedingly kind & gave me every information he could respecting the 3 houses & Lots. 2 houses on those Lots are Log 11/2 Story high, One of them the Chimney, Doors, Windows, floor & shingles all carried away, they Logs Sound but following hard after, About 24 by 18 feet: the other same Size & quality. Doors, Windows & under floor all fled, the remainder on the Wing: the situation of those 2 is Low & very wet all around during the Winter. The 3rd House is Log and frame with Double Porches; & weather boarded all round, has been finished in Stile 40 by 24 feet, Cellar under, and 2 Story High a hole in each Side of the Roof big enough to Let Cate 2 through besides Divers other small holes large enough to let children through; weather boards tumbling off very fast, windows all gone Back Side of the house the sill Broke, house looks like coming Down Cellar full of Cow Dung, Kitchen & Stable stand Back. Logs sound, Roofs, Doors, windows &c. &c. &c. all fled; the remainder Looks as though it would not stay long behind: this Lot fronts Wilks Street lays high & Dry is well Situated for Publick business & the house ought to be kept from going Down. Those 3 Houses & Lots are allowed to be well worth \$1000 10 years Ago; they Allow now they might be worth from \$400 to \$500 Dollars: five o'Clock in the Evening calls my Bill when rendered amounts to \$2.411/2.

Sets out from Bath, thence 17 Miles thorugh those Hills & Mountains to Robert Snodgrass Assessor where I took supper from the Town of Bath & surrounding neighborhood; examined his Assessment Books found no Lands, Houses or Lots taxed to Brook, nor Lee, nor Dillon; thence 1 Mile to Robert Snodgrass Inn keeper; arrived here 10 at night put Cate by & went to Bed.

11<sup>th</sup> of the Month & 3<sup>rd</sup> of the Week. Called my bill this morning which was \$0.75 thence 1 Mile back to R. Snodgrass

<sup>2</sup> His riding mare.

Assessor & reexamined his Assessment Books Discover'd that Brooks property in Bath must have been taxed in the name of Anguish McDonnald & no further information here, thence 8 Miles through the Hills & North Mountain to Martinsburgh again, Court Now Sitting; reexamined the Land records & Map of the Town of Bath, and Deeds Laying in the office not recorded & the Superior Courts office and Can find no property of any kind recorded for Clement Brook, Wm Lee, John Dillon nor the firm of Lee, Brook & Dillon nor none of the name; now Examines the Commissioners books for Taxes, Finds 3 Lots taxed in the name of Anguish McDonald, & Anguish McDonald's Executors, which is said to be the property of said Brook; Order'd the bill to be made out and paid the same as pr bill receipted for Lot No 108 \$6.28. Finds 1/2 a 1/3 & 2/3 Labor Lots taxed in the name of George Dyke, Valentine Dyke & Valentine Dyke's Executors, which is also said to be some of them the property of Clement Brook, Ordered the bill to be made out; and paid the same as pr two bills & two receipts \_ \_ - taxed in the name of Wm Lccs Heirs, which is a Direct Tax for the year 1815. Said to be the same property as above stated. I also paid this Tax as pr receipt for the 9th Collection ---district in Virginia \$1.17 and Lost in the Above payment for want of change -\$0.08 Paid for Searching the office & making out bills of Taxes this Day - - -\$0.50 Paid for Discounting Hagers Town paper for taxes 12th of the Month & 4th of the Week. This morning accidentally fell in with Wm Riddle Esquire High Sheriff of Berkly County had a friendly Conversation with him respecting 3 Houses & Lots, he introduces me to Edward Beeson and he informs me of the Settlement of Friends near this place, which Constitutes Middleton & Hopewell Meetings, this felt very pleasant to me as I thought I was far and wide from any of the Society of friends. E. Beeson introduces me to Phillip C. Pendleton Attorney at Law residenter in Martinsburgh who

saw my Difficulties & Volunteer'd his Services turn'd into the office for recording of Deeds and examined it from Dan to Beersheba, Could find nothing to afford any satisfaction, thought it advisable to go to Winchester, & examine the offices there & see Archibald McGill Attorney at Law as it was said that he sold Anguish McDonalds property in Bath by Deed of trust & that Clement Brook was the purchaser the said Pendleton making no Charge for his trouble; Din'd & paid my - - - hill which was \$3.121/2 thence 12 Miles through a Land of Lime Stones quite troublesome in the fields and badly farmed the Country interspersed with walnuts & Locusts the timber not good to Bunker's Hill in Frederick County Virginia. Thence 12 Miles through a Beautiful Level country & rich Lime stone Land fields very large & full of walnuts & Locusts, scarce of Timber & Water, the farming principally left to Providence; though some chance farms well managed which looks delightfull, to Winchester in Frederick County & State of Virginia; this is a smart Village situated on a roughish Lime Stone piece of Ground many good buildings and too many Wooden buildings, the Publick Buildings entirely below Parr for this place, very Little Better than at Martinsburgh, the Market House built on a Lime Stone rock inconvenient to get at, an Ugly old stone house with a late addition of Brick which they tryed to make look a Little better the whole a Dirty Stinking Market House: I arived here at Sun Down put up at Wm McSherry's he is a figure of 9, with the tail off; his Wife an Amiable Woman well calculated to keep a publick House.

13<sup>th</sup> of the Month & 5<sup>th</sup> of the week. This Morning went to the old District Courts office, now called the Superior Courts office & there made search for the 3 houses & lots situated in Bath, all to no purpose, thence to the office for recording of Deeds for Frederick County alone, as it was thought it might possibly be recorded there in a mistake; & no inteligence here; thence to Archibald McGill Attorney at Law, he's 7 Miles in the Country. Mounts Cate & goes after him. Meets him on

the road & returns with him to Winchester, he Examines his office & finds 2 Deeds to Wit: Buchanan to McDonald for Lot No 108 in the Town of Bath; & McDonald to Magill by Deed of Trust for the same Lot; which the said McGill sold at Publick Auction in Bath, he says the purchaser was a tall man from Baltimore. He thinks the sum or purchase money some where abouts \$100.00. Says he made him a Deed & promise to make him another, if the former should not be found on record or if it be Lost; he gave me the above mentioned 2 deeds; for his trouble he charged me for bees & Caps \$5.00 as pr his receipt & assumption for to make a new Deed if necessary; went to my Lodgings call'd my bill & paid the same which was thence on the Apple-Pye ridge road 7 Miles through a beautiful Hill Country, well watered & timbered, Lime stone Land, well adapted to Plaster, here & there a good farmer; to John Pugh's; arrived here this Evening treated exceedingly kind by John & Cousin Debby who appears to be in a prosperous way as to this world & lives in Stile for a Country-Man, Just entered into the Mercantile Business; Ellis Pugh & his Wife also Lives in this small Village called Gadelope:

14th of the month & 6th of the week. This morning took Breakfast enquired for my bill, which was paid with \$0.00 thence 8 Miles through such a country as the last described to Bunkers Hill; thence 12 Miles through the same road as noticed on bottom of page 14 & top of page 15. To Martins Burgh & put up at A. Gouldings, this afternoon fell in with the before mentioned Phillip C. Pendleton who was ancious to know how I come on at Winchester. I showed him all that I had done seemed displeased at McGill for taking the \$5.00 for bees & Caps & also Discovered that the Sheriff had taken about \$10, as for taxes more than he should have done & Caused him to refund the same which he had to bare midling Patient; said Pendleton also recommended me to an Attorney in Clarks-Burgh when I should arrive there & wrote to a Mr Schon in the Clerks office at Clarks-burgh to assist me in the prosecution

of such enquiries & searches that I should make there, he would not receive anything for his trouble but said he was very much pleased & Gratifyed when he had it in his power to Assist a Stranger (so much for this Lawyer).

15th of the Month & 7th of the week. This Morning searched the office again & felt satisfyed that Lot 108 which is 5 perches fronting on Independent Street & 8 both with 2 Log houses that I first described 11/2 Storys high was the property of Clement Brook, & am satisfyed that part of Lot No 100 on Wilks Street is the property of said Brook this Contains the big house 40 feet Long &c. &c. but have found no papers to show for part of Lot 100. Calls my bill & pays the same \$2.931/2 thence 8 Miles through the North Mountain to the Assessor for Direct tax & entered Lot No 108 with the 2 Onc & 1/2 Story Log Houses, & part of Lot No 100 with the 40 by 20 odd feet 2 Story Houses in the name of Clement Brook in the Direct tax list, for which I paid as pr receipt; thence 1 Mile to the Assessor for revenue or State tax & entered the same property in the name of Clement Brook for which I paid \$1.50 as pr receipt; thence 16 Miles through an Ugly hilly unsettled Country in the night to the Town of Bath & put up at Major Baylys at 11 o'Clock; put Cate by & went to bed.

16<sup>th</sup> of the Month & 1<sup>st</sup> of the Week. This day spent in writing my Journal thus far & Consulting with John Robinson respecting the 3 Houses & Lots in Bath.

This morning Cate Lame, had 2 new shoes put on her \$0.62½ & 2 Moves \$0.20 - - - \$0.82½ Left 40 Cents with John Robinson - - 0.40 to pay Tax on ¾ of a Lot in the Town of Bath Charged to George Dykc & returned delinquent for the year 1815, the tax 36 Cents 3 Mills, & 10 per Cent added according to Law.

Wrote Peter Dyke Orders to give up the House he now occupys on Sight to John Robinson, which is the 40 foot house on Lot No. 100, this Lot is 8 perches front on Wilks Street & runs back towards the Mountain 5 perches, a house Standing

on Each Corner of the Lot, the 40 foot house between the two; I incline to think \(^1\)3 of this lot in the Middle must be Clement Brook's which would Leave 44 feet fronting on 2\(^d\) Street; I allowed said Peter Dyke to have the preference of becoming a Tenant if he Chooses. I Also have Nominated John Robinson in writing to Rent the 3 houses and Lots untill the 1\(^s\)t of 9\(^t\)h Mo. 1818, the rent to be put on the Houses. Robinsons Authority here Ceases. then on the middle of the 8\(^t\)h Mo. it was allowed to offer them at publick Sale in the Year 1818, by the person that John Trimble might think proper to appoint, the purchaser to have possession on 1st of 9\(^t\)h Mo: 1818 if sold. paid this day for paper - - \(^t\)\$ \(^t\)\$ \(^t\)\$ \(^t\)\$ Mo: 1818 if sold. Now Calls my bill which is - \(^t\)\$ \(^t\)\$

Now 5 O'Clock in the Evening, hears that Nicholas Orrick Esqr would be likely to give information respecting the title papers of Lot No. 100. Sd Orrick being in Bath, I went in quest of him, he kindly invites me home with him. I accept the invitation we set out 5 Miles together down the Narrow Valley or the Warm Waters of Bath; Squire Orrick informs that the Coldest weather never was known to freeze this stream for 2 Miles down this Valley is very Narrow, land of not much Account farm'd bad, but tolerably well adapted to plaster, at Lenth we arrive at the Squire's farm 600 Acres, 100 of the same beautiful bottom on the river Potomac, the remainder Mountains a great part may be farm'd & is adapted to plaster, he has a Merchant Mill, a Saw Mill, a Carding Mill all on the Waters of Bath, this stream affords him 4 Mill seats, one after another, he says that his bottom Land would sell for \$100.00 pr Acre, & the up Land taking his mills in to View is equal to the Low land. I was treated extremely kind he's much of Gentleman & his Wife's an Amiable Lady indeed; of good Statute, desires to be remembered in a particular Maner to her Cousin Hannah Taylor of Baltimore.

This morning My bill was - - - - \$0.00 6<sup>th</sup> mo: 18<sup>th</sup>: & 3<sup>rd</sup> of the wk. Squire Orrick accompanys me 1 Mile down the waters of Bath, to a Man of the Name of

Marshall who had married the Widow of Valentine Dyke, She well remembers the Sale of her Husband for part of Lot N°. 100 to Clement Brook; She refers me to Brent a Merchant in Hancock, we thence proceeds 1 Mile farther to the Potomac & fords the same directly where the sweet waters of Bath enters the River & directly on the opposite side where the Carrolloway Creek emptys in the same; the Town of Hancock situated on the Bank of the River in Washington County Maryland; This

Brent was the Acting Executor to the Estate of Valentine Dyke he examined the papers of sd Dyke & but to little Satisfaction, he promised to re-examine & if he could discover anything in favour he would send it to Jno Robinson of Bath: There are a good many new frame Houses painted in this small Town looks tolerable well 3 or 4 Stores & as many taverns; thence 1 Mile on the Cumberland road to the top of the Hill Looks back the new little Town, with the View of the river for a Couple of Miles & the river bottoms with the surrounding Mountains affords a handsome, but Romantick Prospect; thence 3 Miles through a rough but passable hill Country if it had farming & Planter it would do very well; to where the old & the new Cumberland road forks; thence 8 Miles on the old Cumberland road through the Dreariest, roughest, Mountainous Country my Eye ever Saw, not room for a single farm nor Ground to put on it, A Succession of Mountains to the right & to the Left & as one would disappear on the rear 2 or three in Lieu thereof would appear in front covered with rocks, Scrub Pines (now & then a few Midling ones) & Jack Oaks of the Meanest Grade, now & then a miserable Hovel of a house, the inhabitants thereof well adapted to the Country they live in; to sideling Hill Creek into Aleghany County Maryland. This would have been a Noble Asyulm, when the British was Bombarding at Baltimore; & a Noble Asylum it must have been to the Indians in the Time of Braddocks War, too much so indeed, thence 3 Miles to 15 Mile Creek & fed \$0.183/4; thence 15 Miles through such a Country as above described; the Potomac once in a while appearing affords a little comfort to the Eye for a

Moment, to Oliver Cromwell's Mills (this was not the Oliver Cromwell we read of in history) thence 2 Miles up and on the Margin of the River on a handsome flat, a nice bottom on the right but narrow, directly reaching the dreary pines; on the Left of the River immediately horrid Mountains in Virginia, Hampshire County to where the south Branch and the north branch of the Potomack, Comes together which forms a body of Dead still water for ½ a Mile in the River, thence 3 Miles to old Town through a nice bottom. This also relieves the Eye for a short time now dark & puts up at the sign of the deer, This little old Town well enough named is situated in a handsome level flat Long bottom of Ground, but other Horrid Centinals Surounding the same.

19<sup>th</sup> of the Mo: & 4<sup>th</sup> of the week. I might have Noted in its proper place, that I wrote a Letter To John Trimble in Bath dated the 16<sup>th</sup> & 17<sup>th</sup> Instant; & put it into the Post office at Hancock on the 18<sup>th</sup> Instant; informing him of my progress in & about Bath; I also enclosed a letter in the same for my Wife; & further on the 18<sup>th</sup> Instant I received in the road at Oliver Cromwells Mills as I set on Cate \$20 Dollars from Joseph Cromwell a Debt due to the Estate of Thomas Taylor late of Baltimore (deceased) which I was to Deliver to Hannah Taylor Adm<sup>ix</sup> to the Estate of Said Thomas Taylor but have Converted it to the Use of the Expedition I am on, which must be paid her by John Trimble Merchant of Baltimore.

Called my bill & paid the same - - - \$1.91 Thence from Old Town 15 Miles up a narrow Valley, some times a long on the margin of the River Potomac, and some times a little in those scrub Hills, this narrow Valley with a small portion of the adjacent hills & with the help of Plaster as it is well adapted to it, & Good farming (but alas no farmes here) would make a Delightfull farm 15 Miles Long To Cumberland, formerly Fort Cumberland. I arrived here about 3 o'Clock Put up at Walter Slicers Sign of the Spread Eagle went to Samuel Smith Esquire to deliver my letter of introduction &c. he being out of Town at his farm, gave me a Short

period of time to make a Survey on this place, The Town of Cumberland is a handsome little place with many good brick buildings in the same, it is situated on the North Branch of the River Potomac, Wills Creek a large Stream of Water running through the Town (directly emptying itself in the River) affords an opportunity for the erection of several Merchant Mills, One large New Brick Mill looks well is an acquisition to the place, is bounded in the front by Spurs of the Alegany Mountain, on the rear, the right & the Left by those Little Bull dog Mountains, the whole Afford when on the neighboring hills a pleasant lively romantick appearance (no scarcity of Romanticks in this world).

There is a handsome Bridge hung upon Chains which earry over Wills Creek into the other part of Town, directly ascending the Hill after erossing bridge on an high ves very high Emminance stand the ruins of the old fort (which takes the mind to Braddocks War) it has full command of the river Down the same for a mile & up about 1/2 a Mile, the river here makes a very quiek short Bend in the form of a horse Shoe, the fort directly standing on the out side of the Shoe at the Toe of the same, which gives comand on both sides of the Shoe, or other wise both up & down the River; directly opposite this Fort over the River in Virginia Hampshire County, within the Shoe or in the Bend of the River on an high Eminance was erected another Fort which had good command of the River up & down where this fort was, now, stands a large & spacious Brick Dwelling: The beautifulest Stone Coal I ever saw is here from 8 to 12 Cents pr bushel, they ship in time of high water this Coal & other produce of their Country to George-Town & that Neighbouring Country & brings back in their boats in return one Ton to a man, of Plaster, Herring, Shad & other goods Materials as they may want. Herring \$12 Shad \$16 pr Barrel. This Country will gradually grow Better & rieher: Now 6 O'Clock Survey being made I returns to Samuel Smith Esquires, delivers him a Letter & after reading the same, promises to give me every information & assistance he can in regard

to Clement Brook's interest in the 170 Acres of Land near Cumberland as set forth in the Schedule & valued at \$3400 he invites me from the Store into his dwelling & had an interview on the subject of Brooks property, then Adjourns to meet to Morry morning at 8 o'clock; It Appears that this Samuel Smith Esquire Merchant in this Town is the proper person for me to be introduced to; he keeps the Post Office & is the Principal Assessor for Direct Taxes for the County of Aleggany & of Course knows all the Land in the County.

5th of the Week and 20th of the Month. Pursuant to Adjournment we met; Squire Smith Examines his tax Books, can find no taxes nor Land taxed to or on the name of Clement He then accompany's me to Ninian Cochran Late Surveyor of this County, who informs that Thomas Brook the father of Clement Brook owned three Tracts of Land 6 or 7 miles from this place. One called Gibson Containing 20 Acres, Another Ajalon 20 Acres & a third Brookfield Containing 92 Acres; friend Cochran was so kind as to go with me to Major Hanson Briscoes who kept the office for recording of Deeds & upon examination Could find no Land standing in favour of Brook, discovered that on some Occasion a Copy of Thomas Brooks Will was filed in the office, Demanded a Copy of said Will the charge was \$0.96\% but for want of Change had to pay -

Friend Coughran, introduced me to Roger Perry Attorney at Law, who had & has for six years past the Agency of Judith Briscoe Brook's (who is the Wife of James Linsey of Union Town Pennsylvania) Lands in this Alleghany County near Cumberland, which led said Perry to become acquainted with all the Lands of s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Brook (Deceased) he having a list of all the familys name & well accquainted with his & their Lands gives his Certificate, Certifying that a resurvey had been made in the name of Thomas Brook on Ajalon & shewed me the patent for the same where 72 Acres of Vacant Land was added to Ajalon & reduced the whole into one entire Survey Containing 92 Acres; Now Thomas Brook Devised this Ajalon

or 20 Acres in his last Will, to his Daughter Rachel, Ajalon is said to be worth from 20 to 30 Dollars pr Acre, & the remainder of Brookfield worth from 8 to 19 Dollars pr Acre which is 72 Acres; Now Lawyer Perry states that only the 1/7 undivided part of this 72 Acres is Coming to Clement Brook & that Rated at 9 Dollars pr Acre would only Amount to \$90 Dollars or nearly thereabout; this is so far & wide from \$3400 the Valuation of his property in the schedule near Cumberland that I could not think of offering it for sale until I can get some other information respecting his property near this place: Major Briscoe States that on a resurvey he had made: he is informed that there is 5 Acres of Land belonging within his Line or resurvey to the Estate of Thomas or Clement Brook which he is willing to purchase if a Satisfactory title can be made him, but he knows nothing where the Land lays, nor nothing of the Title papers, has promised to write to Annappolis concerning the same by the first Male that goes from here and give me Information respecting the 5 Acres: Paid Major Perry for his services as pr his receipt at the bottom of his Certificate \$3.00 & \$1.25 to Ninean Coughran for his Certificate taken from his records as County Surveyor the whole making for Perry & Coughran

6<sup>th</sup> Mo. 21<sup>st</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> of the week. This Day holds a Consultation with Samuel Smith Esq<sup>r</sup> in respect to the property near Cumberland; make farther enquiries after the same all to know Satisfaction. Writes a Letter to John Trimble informing him of my Movements in & about Cumberland.

Writes a Letter to Hannah Taylor of Baltimore informing her that I received \$20.00 from Joseph Cromwell a Debt due the Estate of her Husband, & that she must Charge me with the same.

Writes a Letter to My Wife & Children.

Pays for Stationary - - - - - \$0.063/4 Pays my bill up to the Morning of to Morrow - 5.06

22<sup>nd</sup> of the Month & 7<sup>th</sup> of the Week. This morning set out from Cumberland and rode 5 Miles up the Potomac & on

the Cumberland Turnpike road to Carters at the foot of the Aleghany Mountain fed & refreshed - - -Several little farms appears this far on the Potomac & amongst the Hills: thence 16 Miles on this Great Western Turnpike road on the Alleghany mountain to Tomlinson's fed & dined \$0.683/4. thence 13 Miles to the Widow Janas and fed this is in or near Somerset County in State of Pennsylvania, thence in Somerset County 6 Miles to Phillip Smyth's Sine of General Jackson & Lodged; This great Turnpike road is far superior to any of the Turnpike roads in Baltimore County for Masterly Workmanship, the Bridges & Culverts actually do Credit to the Executors of the same, the Bridge over the Little Crossings of Little Youghegany River is possitively a Superb Bridge: The goodnes of God must have been in Congress unknownst to them; when the fell about to & Erected a Lane for the making of this great Turnpike road which is the Salvation of those Mountains or Western Countrys & more benefit to the human family than Congress have any knowledge or any other Tribunal on the face of the Earth; I have seen no place on the Aleghany Mountain where they have Carried this road through but that has been done with as little Difficulty as making the Turn-pike Road up Joneses Falls, & one place in particular on this Mountain the road is Carried on a Direct straight line for 3 Miles & I believe more & many other places from 1/2 a Mile to 1 & 2 Miles in a Strait line; this Great Western or Cumberland Turn Pike Road is free from Toll, it is not only good & handsome but is Ellegant & is & will be of more benefit than the Idea of man can possibly have any knowledge of:

23rd of the month & 11th of the week. My Land Lord Phillip Smyth is a proud Empty Ignorant Rich Dutchman, Lives in a big wooden House with a Stone Chimney in each end, the house kept prodigeously Dirty; the Living for man & horse is as good & looks as well as any of their Taverns, Inns or Hotels, he is situated Just on the East Side of the big Crossings of Youghagany River in Somerset County, owns about

250 Acres of Land which he says that would sell for \$50 pr Acre Just like a Top; he has Laid out a Town Just on the Bank of the River & directly on the Turnpike road which he calls Smyth-field and is now disposing of Lots some of them he says sells at \$250 which is for ½ of an Acre & fronting on the road (Baltimoreans Looke, Land Selling in the Middle of the Allegany Mountains @ \$1000 pr Acre) at this intended Town they have Commenced the erection of the Bridge over this River, no doubt but from the speciman of the work already on the road, but this Bridge will be a superb & Magnificent Building, this Mountain afords noble Stone for buildings & all that I have seen nearly of the same quality: when broken the grit looks like a rough Course Sand Stone.

Calls my Bill which is - - - \$1.37½ Moves off & fords the River a Beautiful stream indeed, into Fayette County on General Braddock's old road 14 Miles to Freemans one hundred yards from this General Braddock was Interred. fed & Drank some Elegant Cyder - \$0.37½ thence 4 Miles to John Slack's very warm Stops to let Cate blow & Cool gives her a Gallon of Oats - - \$0.12½ thence 6 Miles on & over Laurel hill to Union Town; on the top of Laurel hill, about 3 Miles from Union Town; the Town & surrounding Neighbor Hood affords a delightful Prospect indeed; leads the mind in spite of the Heart to contemplate on the Promised Land that good old Moses was suffered to have a Sight of but not to set his foot thereon after his Long and fatigueing Journey through the Wilderness.

I am now in Union Town Formerly Beeson Town on the West Side of the Aleghany Mountain, the Back-Bone of America & Bug Bear of the World; Who pilated General Braddock so well through this Mountain 50 or 60 years ago; he from old England could never have had the oppertunity to explore this Country & Carry this road through which bears the name of Braddocks Road even unto this day:

O the Traitorous Indians; some of them must have been his Guide; This great western Road is Carried and Laid out a

great part of the way on the same Identical ground & totally carried through on the General direction of Braddocks road: This Mountain in Traveling through is but a mere flea bite to travel over, to the Mountains from Martinsburgh in Virginia to Cumberland in Maryland at the foot of the Alleghany Mountain; It is true Bradocks road Is a rough & prodigiously stoney road, the stones principalley loose, but no worse than the same distance I have rode in many other parts of the world, if the same attention & Labour had been put on the road; it appears there is no roads mended or repaired on this Mountain if there is it is very little, the roads is no harder to keep up here than the roads in Baltimore or Chester Counties or of the County of Lancaster, they people are too abominably Lazy to repair roads here, Loose Stones & water running on the roads are the principal Evils; the Stones is very easy removed & that water would be easily turned off, but it gets liberty to run untill it makes Mires in the middle of the road & a Waggon will Swamp or Mire going down a Steep hill as well as going up; I saw one handsome & Larg Brick House, with extensive back buildings of Brick on the Aleghany Mountains, also one Large Stone house that Looks as well as the Comonallity of the best Stone House, and many Very good & 2 Story log Buildings: and many Comfortable little farms & some Large farms appears; it is true they will be very poor in a short time without great Care, but no poorer than Hundreds of Farms in Baltimore County; there is room for and there will be many farms Opened and made on this Mountain particularly on the Turnpike, this Mountain has also several Saw-Mills & perhaps one or more Grist Mills on or near the road:

If I had been Carried & set at Cartes which is said to be the foot of the Aleghany Mountain & known nothing About the Aleghany Mountain, I should have went on to Union Town & pronounced the same to have been a poor stony rocky Country which abound plentifully with good Water, with an abundance of good Chestnut rail Timber, a great deal of Thin white oak Land with Grand White Oak trees on the same, & White or

Spruce pines in Abundance, many very large & lofty. If not as lofty as the Cedars of Lebanon, they are as lofty as the Pines of the Aleghany: The Aleghany as well as its Surrounding Mountains are ruined & kept poore by the raskally practice of seting fire to the same every 2 or 3 years; the persons that do it ought to be confined in the Mountains within the walls of a penitentiary built of the Materials they produce and fed on the beef of Rattle snakes & bears foot soop until the Great Masterly forests should Assume their natural & official Magnificence again: They destruction on this vast Extensive Aleghany forest done by fire, is not to be described with a pen: If this forest had never have been fired it would have been a vast Large Extensive handsome Timbered Country, of Course the Land would have been thin, but it never would have Assumed the present horrid aspect which now prevail over the whole I have rode through their negro Mountains, their Shades of Death (here is the tall pines) their savage Mountains & many other desprate Mountains as they represent but I saw nothing so savage like as many of the inhabitants thereof that appear in some degree like a part of the human race: If the fire could be stopped this part of the wourld would grow better. there are some places Contains Lime Stone in the Alegany forest, which is Adapted to plaster, where ever it happens; & some few places Adapted to plaster where there is not Lime stone; with this lime stone and Acconomical farmer a great part of this Extensive now Barren forest might become a tolerable handsome hill Country & no doubt but it will in less than a Couple of Centurys from this.

In short 9 tenths of the people have no conception of the Alegheny Mountain that talks about it; the base false representations of it deceives the Idea of the mind & leads it to believe and conjecture Ideas that is Desperately Erronious: & many that see it speaks Erroniously of the same because the hear others at it.

Land genneraly sells on this vast great road through the Mountain from 10 to 50 Dollars p<sup>r</sup> Acre & particular small pieces as much as 3 or 4 Acres in a piece at \$100 p<sup>r</sup> Acre.

Union or Beeson Town is a Post & Country Town; where at it, dont look so promising as from Laurel Hill, some good building of Brick in the same, too many wooden houses for the Credit of the place, its situation is handsome & the surrounding neighborhood is a handsome hill Country in a good State of Cultivation; Red-Stone Creek runs through this Town which affords a Merchant Mill in the vicinity of the Town. I have put up at Thomas Brownfield sign of the Swan as soon as I came to Town which was yesterday 5 or six o'Clock.

2<sup>nd</sup> Instant 2<sup>nd</sup> of the week. It seems this day was heretofore appointed by the Masons (as termd) to walk in procession in the Town of Union which afforded an Opertunity to see many of the redstone farmers as they with their wives & Daughters &c. &c. &c. came on together a little Gape Led: This afternoon I was introduced to Jacob Beeson of Uniontown, who as well as his wife & daughter Jane (which was all the family now on the home place Except some White servants) gave me a kind friendly reception; where I sup'd & Lodg'd.

25th & 3rd of the Week. This morning after breakfast my good friend Jacob Beeson & myself took a walk through Town; he Introduced me to his son-in-law Robert Skyles Merchant of this Town & his Wife, who treated me very friendly: now went to James Lindsay Esquire who married Judith Briscoe Brooke the Sister of Clement Brooke; where I discover that Thomas Brooke father of Clement; had Eight Children, To wit: Elizabeth who was the Wife of John Simonson Esqr (both deceas'd & the Estate Insolvent) Judith Briscoe the wife of James Lindsay Esquire, Merchant in Union Town:—Rachel who married a Donell; thence became a Widow & now her name is R. Colland: Clement Brook; Susan who married W<sup>m</sup> Lee: Anna Green H Field now Winders:

### NOTES FROM THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

(Contributed by Mrs. George W. Hodges.)

Maryland. These may Certify whom it may concern that on the ninth day of this instant February in the 39th year of the Dominion of Cecilius Absolute Lord & proprietary of the province of Md & Avalon Lord Baron of Baltimore & over this province of Md Anno Domini One thowsand six hundred & Seventy in the presence of us whose hands & Seals are hereunto Subscribed William Sterns Sonn of William Sternes of the County of Dorset in the said Province of Md, did take Mary Sharpe Daughter of Peter Sharpe of the County of Calvert in the said province of Md to Wife, & the Said Mary did also acknowledge the Said William to be her lawfull husband & did Sign us underwritten to Certify the Same under Our hands & Seales which accordingly we have done this ninth day of February in the Year Above Said

| William Berry | [SEALED] |
|---------------|----------|
| Mich. Offley  | [SEALED] |
| Tho. Preston  | [SEALED] |
| John Jadwyn   | [SEALED] |

## [Lib. J. J. Provincial Court, 1670, fol. 51.]

Maryland. These may Certify whom it may concern that on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of this instant January in the 39<sup>th</sup> year of the Dominion of Cecilius absolute Lord and proprietary of the province of M<sup>d</sup> & Avalon Lord Baron of Baltimore & over this province of M<sup>d</sup> Anno Domini 1670 in the presence of us whose hands & Seals are hereunto Subscribed William Ford of Bristoll in the Kingdom of England did take Sarah Preston dau. of Richard Preston of the County of Calvert in the said province of M<sup>d</sup> to Wife & the said Sarah did also acknowledge the Said William to be her lawfull husband, and did sign us underwritten to Certify the same under Our hands & Seals which

accordingly was here done the 12 day of January in the Year abovesaid.

Peter Sharpe [SEAL]
William Berry [SEAL]
James preston [SEAL]
Thomas preston [SEAL]

[Lib. J. J. Provincial Court, Feby. 6, 1670, fol. 51.]

Jan. 11, 1677, came the widdow of John Halfehead late of the bayside in St. Maries County deceased intestate showed that her Sd Husband by the fall of a tree was struck speechless so that within few dayes hee dyed intestate—therefore prayed that ad:ion of the goods and chattels of the said deceased may to her bee committed that Nicholas Guyther & Thomas Courtney may be appointed appraisers of the goods & chattles of the said deceased & that Gerit Vansweringen Alderman of the Citty of St. Maries may bee empowered to sweare them. Ordered that Jane Halfhead have adion of the goods & Chattles of her said Deceased husband & that Nicholas Guyther & Thomas Courtney bee appraisers & that Gerit Vansweringen doe swear him, thee said Jane taking the Oath of Admnx & giving bond with two sufficient surities in double the value of the said goods & the said Jane tooke the Oath of Admnx immediately gaue bond with Nicholas Guyther & William Guyther of St. Jerome for her Services admion to make & the said Letters of administration with warrants & appraisirs & to sweare them issued and the Seale of this Court immediately.

Invent: recdt Apl. 11 next.

[Test. Proceedings No. 9, 1677, fol. 445.]

#### MERRYMAN FAMILY.

(Continued from Vol. X, page 185.)

FRANCIS B. CULVER.

13. NICHOLAS MERRYMAN<sup>5</sup>, (John<sup>4</sup>, John<sup>3</sup>, Charles<sup>2</sup>, John 1), was born 11 Dec. 1726, and died 1801 (will). He married (1) circa 1750, Elizabeth Ensor, and (2) Jane — , who survived him but a short while. His will, dated 10 Aug. 1799, and probated 7 Oct. 1801, mentions his wife Jane; a son Elijah (deceased): a son, Nicholas: daughters, Jane Merryman, Mary Bond, Elizabeth Bosley and Sarah Orrick: grandchildren, John and Nicholas Merryman (sons of Elijah Merryman, deccased), Eleanor Merryman (daughter of Nicholas, Jr.), and the children of his daughter, Sarah Orrick. (Balto. Wills, Lib. 6, folio 443). The first account of Nicholas Merryman, Jr., administrator of the estate of the widow. Jane Merryman, was filed 10 September, 1803. (Balt. Admin. Accts, Lib. 15, folio 357).

Nicholas Merryman had issue, but the order of the

births of the children is not determined.

i. Elizabeth Merryman<sup>6</sup> b. 28 Aug. 1750; m. 29 June 1769, Elisha Bosley.

23. 24.

- ii. NICHOLAS MERRYMAN, JR., b. 1751; d. 1832. iii. ELIJAH MERRYMAN, d. 3 July 1799. iv. Micajah Merryman, married and had issue. v. Jane Merryman, d. 1819, unmarried (will probated 5 Dec. 1819).
- vi. Mary Merryman, m. 1787, Dennis Bond. vii. Sarah Merryman, married John Orrick. viii. Ann Merryman, married [Elijah Bosley?].
- JOHN MERRYMAN 5 (John 4, John 3, Charles 2, John 1), was born 16 February, 1736/7, and died 14 Feby., 1814 (Epitaph). He removed from near Hereford, Baltimore county, to Baltimore Town about 1763 (Land Rec. B-L, 24), and resided on Calvert street, just south of Baltimore street. His name appears in a list of the leading citizens of Baltimore Town, 22 April, 1767 (Md. Arch., xxxii, 204). He was chosen a member of the "Baltimore Town Committee of Observation" 12 November,

1774, and was serving as such in 1776. On 28 Nov. 1778, he was commissioned one of the Justices for Baltimore county, residing in Baltimore Town (Md. Arch. xxi, 242), and was a Judge of the Orphans' Court of Baltimore County in 1784. His estate which he owned in Baltimore county, called "Hereford Farm," comprised over 1000 acres in 1788. (Laws of Md., 1788, chap.

He married in St. Paul's parish 9 December, 1777, Sarah (Rogers) Smith, widow of John Addison Smith. She died 21 August, 1816, aged 74 years, and was buried 23 August, 1816 (St. Paul's), in Loudon Park Cemetery. The will of John Merryman, Sr., of Baltimore Town and "Hereford Farm," dated 19 January, 1813, and probated 23 February, 1814, mentions his wife, Sarah: four children, John, Jr., and Nicholas Rogers Merryman, Sarah Rogers Merryman, and Elizabeth Merryman: and a married step-daughter, Eleanor Addison Bosley. (Balt. Wills, Lib. 9, folio 417). The will of the widow, Sarah Merryman, dated 24 February, 1814, and probated 14 September, 1816, mentions her own children by a former husband, namely, Eleanor Addison (Smith) Bosley, William R. Smith; and four children by her husband, John Merryman, who are enumerated above. (Balt. Wills, Lib. 10, fol. 216).

John and Sarah (Rogers)-Smith Merryman had issue.

- i. John Merryman, b. 3 Nov. 1778; d. 24 June 1854.
- ii. Benjamin Rogers Merryman, b. 27 Oct. 1780; d. inf.
  iii. Anne Merryman, b. 8 Nov. 1782; d. 8 Mch. 1785.
  iv. Sarah Rogers Merryman, b. 22 Mch. 1784; m. 1 May 1828,
  Dr. Ashton Alexander; d. 1856.
  v. Elizabeth Merryman, b. 4 Mch. 1786; d. 1860, unmarried.
  vi. Nicholas Rogers Merryman, b. 26 Apl. 1788; d. 21 Jan'y
- 25.
- 15. Benjamin Merryman 5 (John 4, John 3, Charles 2, John 1), was born in 1739, and died 30 May, 1814, aged 75 years. He lived near Monkton, Baltimore county, upon the tract known as "My Lady's Manor." He was a staunch patriot in a veritable hot-bed of Toryism: in fact, My Lady's Manor was confiscated during the Revolutionary War as "British property," and was later divided into several lots, or smaller tracts, and sold. The following, from the "Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Safety" of Maryland in the year 1777, indicates

the sentiment which existed in that section in those times. In a letter, dated at "Monecton Mills, 3d January, 1777," from one Samuel Baxter to the Council, reference is made to the existence of an unusually large number of Tories in his section of the county. Baxter continues: "I was sorcy to see a set of toreys trampel the good law of the Country under foot as I am shure there is not a man in this setelment [Monkton] but Mr. Bengeman meriman and myself that would doe anything to suport Government, as they all are glad to heer of hour conquests [defeats] and will say they knew the English would conker," etc. (Md. Arch. xvi, 12).

On 4th December, 1778, a commission was issued to Benjamin Merryman, appointed captain of a company belonging to the "Upper Battalion" of militia in Balti-

more county (Md. Arch., xxi, 257).

He married in St. John's parish, 2 February, 1762, Mary Bell. His will, dated 6 April, 1812, and probated 18 June, 1814, mentions his wife, Mary, who is bequeathed 200 acres of land, in lieu of her dower, to be laid out upon the east side of "Merryman's Inclosure Rectified." The latter tract he distributes among his children, Nicholas, Philemon, Rebecca, Eleanor and Ann Merryman, and leaves other landed property and money to the remaining children, John and William Merryman, Milcah Carr and Mary Talbott. He mentions his sonin-law, Nicholas Merryman of Nicholas. (Balt. Wills, Lib. 9, fol. 465).

Benjamin and Mary (Bell) Mcrryman had issue.

i. Benjamin Merryman, d. 1796, s. p. (will). ii. John Merryman, d. Nov. 1749.

26. iii. Joshua Merryman, d. 1801, s. p. (will).

iv. Nicholas Merryman, d. 1816. v. William Merryman. vi. Philemon Merryman. 27. 28.-

29. vii. Sarah Merryman.

viii. Catharine Merryman, m. 19 Nov. 1793, John Buck. ix. Mary Merryman, m. 29 Jany. 1804, Thomas Talbott.

x. Elizabeth Merryman, died unmarried.

xi. Eleanor Merryman, m. (lic.) 19 July 1821, Thos. Henry Harland, s. p.

xii. Martha Merryman, died unmarried, 1801 (will). xiii. Ann ("Nancy") Merryman, m. (2d wife) her cousin Nicholas Merryman, Jr.

xiv. Milcah Merryman, m. 27 Feby. 1806, Thomas Carr.

xv. Rebecca Merryman, bpt. 24 Oct. 1787; m. Lee Tipton.

16. MICAJAH MERRYMAN 5 (Moses 4 John 3, Charles 2, John 1), b. 4 July, 1750, and died 7 June, 1842, aged 92 years (Epitaph). He was commissioned 12 October. 1776, 1st Major of Colo. Edward Cockey's "Gunpowder Upper Battalion" of Baltimore County militia (Md. Arch., xii, 337). The original commission is still in the possession of his grandson, George H. Merryman, of Baltimore county. Micajah Merryman married in 1780 Mary Ensor (daughter of Eleanor Ensor, who died in 1801). Mary (Ensor) Merryman, wife of Micajah, died in June, 1788, aged 35 years (Epitaph), or 30 years (Bible record). The will of Micajah Merryman, dated 31 March, 1838, and probated 18 June 1842, mentions his son, Micajah, Jr.; grandsons, George W., Merryman D. and Joshua F. Todd; and granddaughters, Sarah M. Taylor, of Missouri (wife of Thomas Taylor), and Mary Ann Bucknell (Balt. Wills, Lib. 19, fol. 89).

Micajah, Sr., and Mary (Ensor) Merryman had issue.

30.

i. Sarah Merryman, b. 1st Oct, 1781; d. Aug. 1806.
ii. Moses Merryman, b. 24 Mch. 1783; d. 19 Nov. 1819.
iii. Eleanor Merryman, b. 17 June 1785; d. 26 Sept. 1832.
iv. Mary Merryman, b. 23 Aug. 1786; d. 2 Jany. 1829; m. 29 Sept. 1803, Geo. W. Todd (d. 1818); (2) Benj. Bucknell.
v. MICAJAH MERRYMAN, b. 16 May 1788; d. 29 Apl. 1854.

17. Joseph Merryman 5 (Joseph 4, John 3, Charles 2, John 1), was born 15 March, 1760 (St. Paul's), and died intestate 17 August, 1829. He married (lic.) 25 April, 1793, Eleanor Gorsuch. She was born 30 January, 1774, and died 27 July, 1858. The first administration account on his estate was filed 12 November, 1829, by Eleanor, the widow, and Nelson Merryman, and distribution was made to the children enumerated below. Admin. Accts; Lib. 28, folio 303).

On 16 June 1836, Eleanor Merryman, widow, Nelson Merryman and Sarah, his wife, Charles Merryman and Mary Ann, his wife; Lewis Merryman, Eleanor Merryman, Joseph Merryman, George Merryman and Oliver P. Merryman executed a mortgage to Samuel Brady of all that farm called "Clover Hill," etc., 200 acres, on which Joseph Merryman, deceased, formerly resided, etc.

(Lib. T. K. 280, fol. 186).

31.

Joseph and Eleanor (Gorsuch) Merryman had issue.

i. Nelson Merryman, married Sarah -

Mary Merryman, b. 1795; d. 22 Oct. 1815; m. 20 April 1815, Lemuel G. Taylor.

iii. Elizabeth Merryman, b. 1797; d. 29 Oct. 1836; m. W. Chalmers.

iv. Lewis Merryman, s. p.

v. Charles Merryman, m. Mary Ann Davis.

vi. Joseph Merryman. vii. George Merryman.

viii. Oliver P. Merryman.
ix. Eleanor Merryman, d. 8 Sept. 1870, unmarried.
x. Deborah I. Merryman, b. 1810; d. 21 Jany. 1838; m. —— Rutter.

JOB MERRYMAN 5 (Joseph 4, John 3, Charles 2, John 1), was born in 1770, and died 27 June, 1830, aged 60 years. He was, perhaps, thrice married—(1) Ann Neale (lic.) 4 August 1791: (2) (lic.) 1 April 1819, Margaret Lavely, who died in Baltimore 28 January, 1820, aged 40 years (Balt. Patriot, 1 Feb., 1820): (3) Keturah , who administered on his estate 31 December, 1833 (Balt. Admin. Accts. Lib. 31, fol. 99).

Job Merryman had issue.

- i. John B. Merryman, d. abt. 1827; m. (lic.) 23 Nov. 1819, Mary Ann Short.
- 19. Samuel Merryman <sup>5</sup> (Samuel <sup>4</sup>, Samuel <sup>3</sup>, Charles <sup>2</sup>, John 1), was born 17 June, 1745 (St. Paul's), and died 1805. He married Ruth [Price ?]. His will, dated 16 September, 1805, and probated 26 October, 1805, mentions his wife, Ruth; sons, Mordecai and George Price Merryman; daughters, Rachel Chapman and Rebccca Blizzard, and grandchildren, Samuel and Mordecai Merryman Welsh.

Samuel and Ruth Merryman had issue.

i. Mordecai Merryman, m. (lic.) 27 Mch. 1811, Margaret May.

- ii. George Price Merryman, d. abt. 1834. iii. Rachel Merryman, m. Chapman. iv. Rebecca Merryman, m. (lic.) 9 April 1804, John Blizzard. v. Mary Merryman, m. (lic.) 17 Oct. 1795, Laban Welsh.
- 20. CALEB MERRYMAN 5 (Samuel 4, Samuel 3, Charles 2, John 1), was born 12 March, 1758, and died 21 November, 1824. He married (lic.) 2 January, 1781, Ann Wells, and (2), 16 August, 1787, Mary Merryman, his first cousin, a daughter of Nicholas and Avarilla (Raven) Merryman. His will, dated 29 May, 1824, and probated

17 January, 1825, mentions his son, John, who receives certain lands in Virginia: and refers to daughters (unnamed). Appended to the will is a list of "children and heirs"; namely, John Merryman of C., Avarilla Merryman, William H. Chapman, Rebecca Chapman, Mary Merryman and Eleanor Merryman. (Balt. Wills, Lib. 12, fol. 85).

Mrs. Mary Merryman, second wife of Caleb, died 23 April, 1809, in the 44th year of her age. Caleb and

Mary (Merryman) Merryman had issue.

i. Avarilla Merryman, b. 25 June 1788; d. unmarried. ii. John Merryman, b. 28 Jany. 1793.

- iii. Ann Merryman, b. 1 June 1796; m. 20 June 1818, Basil Burgess.
- iv. Rebecca Merryman, b. 25 Feby. 1799; d. 16 Sept. 1863; m. 2
  Nov. 1824, Rev. Wm. H. Chapman.
  v. Mary Merryman, b. 7 Feby. 1801; m. Henry D. Carleton.
  vi. Eleanor Merryman, b. 16 May 1804; d. April 1845; m. in 1839,
- Isaac Chapman.
- 21. MERRYMAN 5 (Samuel 4, Samuel 3, Charles 2, John 1), was born in January 1763, and died 18 August, 1849. He is mentioned in the will of his brother, Mordecai, dated 24 September, 1804, and probated 17 October, 1807, wherein his (John's) two children, Charles and Elizabeth Merryman, are named (Balt. Wills, Lib. 8, fol. 262). The name of John Merryman's wife is supposed to have been Eleanor.

John Merryman had issue.

- i. Samuel Merryman.<sup>6</sup>
  ii. Henry Merryman.
  iii. John Merryman.
  iv. Charles Merryman.
  v. Elizabeth Merryman (m. lic. 30 July 1817 Joseph Gorsuch?).

vi. Achsah Merryman, married Luther Wilson.

- 22. Luke Merryman <sup>5</sup> (Nicholas <sup>4</sup>, Samuel <sup>3</sup>, Charles <sup>2</sup>, John <sup>1</sup>), died 12 February, 1813. He married (lic.) 29 January, 1794, Elizabeth Gorsuch, and had issue.
  - i. Nicholas Merryman, 6 (?), b. 5 Aug. 1795.
    ii. Caleb Merryman, b. 5 Aug. 1798.
    iii. Ann Merryman, b. 11 Jany. 1813.

23. NICHOLAS MERRYMAN 6 (Nicholas 5, John 4, John 3, Charles 2, John 1), called "White-headed Nickey" of Bacon Hall, was born in 1751, and died in 1832, intestate. (Inventory, 7 April, 1832). He was commissioned 4 February, 1777, 1st Lieutenant of Captain Thomas Moore's eompany, in Col. Thomas Gist, Jr.'s battalion of Baltimore county militia (Md. Archives, xvi, 113) and on 30 August, 1777, eaptain in the Upper Battalion of militia in Baltimore eounty (ibid., 350), He married twiee—(1) (lic.) 5 February, 1778, Deborah Ensor (daughter of Eleanor Ensor, who died in 1801), and (2) Naney Merryman (1st eousin), daughter of Benjamin Merryman, Sr. (d. 1814).

The first administration account of his estate was passed 31 May, 1832, with John Merryman, of Benjamin, and Elijah Merryman as administrators (Admin. Accts., Lib. 30, folio 464). Elijah Merryman, one of the administrators, died before the estate was finally settled and the third account filed by the surviving administrator, 2 September, 1840 (Lib. 39, folio 206), mentions the widow, Ann Merryman, and the following ehildren of Nieholas Merryman, deceased:

### By first wife:

33. i. John Ensor Merryman, b. 20 Feby. 1781.

34. ii. ELIJAH MERRYMAN.35. iii. MICAJAH MERRYMAN.

iv. Eleanor Merryman, bpt. 16 Aug. 1790; m. James Edwards Frisby.

36. v. NICHOLAS MERRYMAN, b. 20 June 1793; d. June 1823.

## By second wife:

vi. Benjamin Merryman, d. inf.

vii. Philemon Merryman, d. before his father.

24. ELIJAH MERRYMAN <sup>6</sup> (Nicholas <sup>5</sup>, John <sup>4</sup>, John <sup>8</sup>, Charles <sup>2</sup>, John <sup>1</sup>), died 3 July, 1799. He married twice (1) Frances Ensor (daughter of Eleanor Ensor, who died in 1801), and (2) (lic.) 14 November, 1785, Elizabeth Cromwell, who died in 1833. His will, dated 8 December, 1798, and probated 17 July, 1799, mentions his wife, Elizabeth: his father, Nicholas Merryman; four children, John, Nicholas, Thomas and Frances Merryman; a brother, Nicholas, and a sister, Jane Merryman (Balt. Wills, Lib. 6, folio 192). Elijah Merryman had issue.

## By first wife:

i. John Merryman, d. s. p. 1801, in Cuba. 37. ii. Nicholas Merryman, d. 30 May, 1823.

iii. Eleanor Merryman, d. young.

### By second wife:

iv. Thomas Merryman, b. 1786; d. 6 Dec. 1819; m. (lic.) 17 Sept. 1812, Priscilla Britton, s. p.

v. Frances Merryman, bpt. 2 May 1788; m. (lic.) 24 May 1807,

Jacob Bond.

25. NICHOLAS ROGERS MERRYMAN 6 (John 5, John 4, John 3, Charles 2, John 1), was born 26 April, 1788 (St. Paul's), and died 21 January, 1864, at Piney Hill, Baltimore county. He married (1) 15 September, 1823, Ann Maria Gott (d. 25 January, 1829, aet. 31): (2) 19 June, 1832, Clarissa Philpot (First Presbyterian Church, Balto.). She died 5 November, 1877, aet. 71, and was buried at Piney Nicholas Rogers Merryman had issue.

By first wife:

i. John Merryman, (of "Hayfields"), b. 9 Aug. 1824; d. 15 38. Nov. 1881. ii. Sarah Rogers Merryman, b. 17 Sept. 1827; d. 5 Aug. 1828.

By second wife:

- iii. HENRY NICOLS MERRYMAN. iv. Richard Smith Merryman, m. Mary Louise Brown.
- JOHN MERRYMAN 6 (Benjamin 5, John 4, John 3, Charles 2 John 1), lived at Monkton, Md., and died in November, 1849. He married, 14 December, 1790, Sarah Johnson (St. James). His will is dated 15 April, 1848, and was probated November, 1849 (Balto. Wills, Lib. 23, folio 291). John and Sarah (Johnson) Merryman had issue.
  - i. Catharine Merryman, bpt. 14 Feby. 1792; m. Feby. 1813, Thomas Streett.
  - Elizabeth Johnson Merryman, bpt. 11 Oct. 1793; m. -Stansbury.

iii. Levi Merryman, b. Dcc. 1795; d. act. 73. 40.

- iv. Ann Maria Merryman, bpt. 17 Dec. 1797; m. Dec. 1834, Nicholas Gatch.
- v. Sarah Rogers Merryman, d. July 1867; m. Jany. 1831, Edwd. Philpot, s. p. Joshua Merryman, b. July 1807.

- vii. John Johnson Merryman.
- 27. NICHOLAS MERRYMAN 6 (Benjamin 5, John 4, John 3, Charles 2, John 1), died in 1816. His will, dated 4 Jan'y, 1816, was probated 10 February, 1816 (Balt. Wills, Lib. 10, folio 118). His brother, Philemon Merryman, was guardian for his two younger children, Ann and Sarah.

(Admin. Accts., Lib. 21, fol. 54: Gdn. Bonds, Lib. 3, fol. 343). He married, 26 June, 1798 Sarah Anderson (St. James), and had issue:

i. Mary Merryman, b. 11 June 1799; m. (lic.) 6 Mch. 1818, Wm.

ii. Benjamin Merryman, bpt. 16 July 1800. iii. Martha Merryman, bpt. 9 Apl. 1802; m. (lic.) 21 July 1821, John R. Gwynn.

- iv. Gerard Merryman, b. 24 Dec. 1803.
   v. Ann Merryman, b. 21 July 1805; m. (lic.) 29 Aug. 1822, John R. Gwynn.
- vi. Sarah Merryman, (m. 21 Aug. 1823, Aquila Sparks?).
- 28. William Merryman 6 (Benjamin 5, John 4, John 3, Charles 2, John 1), was elected sheriff of Baltimore Town and County in October, 1809. He married (lic.) 6 January, 1800, Ann Presbury (1780-1828), daughter of George G. Presbury. She died 22 November, 1828, in the 48th year of her age. (Balt. American, 26 November, 1828), leaving five children.

They had issuc:

i. Eleanor Merryman.7

ii. Ann Merryman.
iii. George Merryman, b. Dec. 1805; d. young.
iv. William Merryman, b. Oct. 1808; d. 1823, unm. (will).
v. Gerard Merryman, b. 1809.
vi. Benjamin Merryman, d. inf.
viii. Martha Merryman.

viii. Elizabeth B. Merryman. ix. Adam C. Merryman.

- 29. PHILEMON MERRYMAN 6 (Benjamin, 5 John, 4 John, 3 Charles, John 1), married (lic.) 4 March 1812, Elizabeth Norwood, and had issue.
  - i. Benjamin Bell Merryman, b. 4 April 1813.
- 30. Moses Merryman 6 (Micajah, 5 Moses, 4 John, 3 Charles, 2 John 1), was born 24 March, 1783, and died 19 November, 1819. He was a physician and served as a Surgeon's mate in the 7th Regiment of Baltimore County, Md., militia during the War of 1812-14, being commissioned 9 February, 1814. He married (lic.) 13 June, 1805, Mary Cockey (1781-1809), daughter of Captain John Cockey. She died 24 February, 1809 (Balt. Federal Gazette, 25 February, 1809). They had issue:
  - i. Edwin Merryman, b. 13 June 1806; d. 2 April 1809.

- 31. MICAJAH MERRYMAN <sup>6</sup> (Micajah, <sup>5</sup> Moses, <sup>4</sup> John, <sup>3</sup> Charles, <sup>2</sup> John 1), was born 16 May, 1788, and died 29 April, 1854. He married 10 April, 1826, Clarissa Harryman, daughter of George and Rachel Harryman. She died 15 April, 1879, aet. 80 years and 6 months. They had issue:
  - Moses Washington Merryman, M. D., b. 15 Feby. 1827, d. 25 Jany. 1904.

ii. George Harryman Merryman, b. 27 Jany. 1829; d. 10 Aug.

iii. Mary Merryman, b. 9 July 1830; d. 26 Sept. 1830. iv. George Harryman Merryman, b. 8 Sept. 1831 (living, in 41.

- his 84th year).

  v. Eleanor Cole Merryman, b. 20 Dec. 1834; d. 16 July 1905.

  vi. Rachel Harryman Merryman, b. 4 Dec. 1836.

  vii. Henry Clay Merryman, b. 27 Dec. 1838.

  viii. Laura Virginia Merryman, b. 9 July 1841; d. 3 Oct. 1870. ix. Clara Merryman, b. 2 Sept. 1844; m. Henry R. Crane.
- John Merryman <sup>6</sup> (Caleb, <sup>5</sup> Samuel, <sup>4</sup> Samuel, <sup>3</sup> Charles, <sup>2</sup> John 1), married, 24 June, 1824, Catharine Hammond. They had issue:

i. Ellen Merryman, m. James H. Lloyd,
ii. Mary Merryman, m. Alex. Finley.
iii. John Merryman, m. Sarah J. Wotherspoon.
iv. Henry M. Merryman, m. Christiana Wolbert.
v. Elizabeth Merryman, m. David Gardner.
vi. Rebecca Merryman, m. Wm. C. Barclay.
vii. William Merryman, m. Eliza Roberts.
viii. Howard Morryman, m. Eliza Roberts.

of Captain William Harvey, and had issue:

viii. Howard Merryman, m. Kate Weats.

- 33. JOHN ENSOR MERRYMAN 7 (Nicholas, 6 Nicholas, 5 John, 4 John, Charles, John 1), was born 20 February, 1781 (St. Paul's) and died about 1815 (see Balt. Wills, Liber 10, folio 55). Letters of administration on his estate were granted to William Jones 21 July, 1815. He married, 2 April, 1812, Augusta Matilda Deve Harvey, a daughter
  - i. Harvey Merryman,8 b. 19 Aug. 1813; d. 10 Sept. 1876.
- ELIJAH MERRYMAN 7 (Nicholas, 6 Nicholas, 5 John, 4 John, 3 Charles,<sup>2</sup> John <sup>1</sup>), died in 1840. His will is dated 25 March, 1840, and was probated 4 June, 1840. (Balt. Wills, Liber 18, folios 34). He married 20 Sept., 1804, Cassandra Harvey, a daughter of Captain William Harvey, and had issue:
  - i. Ann Merryman,8 m. Samuel W. Merryman (cousin). ii. Eleanor Merryman, m. Salathiel Cole.

- iii. Nicholas H. Merryman.
  iv. John H. Merryman.
  v. Thomas Merryman.
  vi. Penelope Merryman, m. Joshua M. Bosley.
  vii. Sarah Harvey Merryman, m. Jacob Gilbert.
- 35. MICAJAH MERRYMAN 7 (Nicholas, 6 Nicholas, 5 John, 4 John,<sup>3</sup> Charles,<sup>2</sup> John <sup>1</sup>), was born in 1784 and died prior to 1828. He married (lic.) 8 April, 1807, Deborah Ensor, and had issue:

i. Nicholas Merryman.<sup>8</sup>
ii. Ellen Merryman, m. Darby Ensor.
iii. John E. Merryman, b. 1 July 1813.
iv. George Merryman, b. 28 Dec. 1814.
v. Elizabeth Merryman, m. Eli Stevenson.

vi. Abner Merryman.

- 36. NICHOLAS MERRYMAN 7 (Nicholas, 6 Nicholas, 5 John, 4 John, 3 Charles, 2 John 1), was born 20 June, 1793 (St. James) and died in June, 1823. He married (license) 19 January, 1814, Dorcas Buck.
  - i. John B. Merryman, m. Sarah B. Ensor. ii. Charles D. Merryman.

iii. Catharine Rogers Merryman (d. 1904); m. James Andrews, of Annapolis.

iv. Grafton Merryman. v. Nicholas B. Merryman.

- 37. NICHOLAS MERRYMAN 7 (Elijah, 6 Nicholas, 5 John, 4 John, 3 Charles,2 John 1), nick-named "monkey face," died 30 May, 1823. He married 16 December, 1802, Charlotte Worthington (1780-1859), and the marriage is recorded in both St. James' and St. Thomas' parish registers. Issue:
  - i. John Merryman,8 d. s. p. 1841 (will).

ii. James O. Merryman, d. 27 July 1843.
iii. Frances Merryman, m. Eli Curtis.
iv. Catharine J. Merryman, m. Levi Curtis.
v. Samuel W. Merryman, married thrice.
vi. Elijah Merryman, b. 3 July 1810; d. 18 Nov. 1835; m. 6 June 1832, Rebecca Cockey.

vii. Susan W. Merryman. viii. Elizabeth E. Merryman.

38. JOHN MERRYMAN 7 (Nicholas Rogers, 6 John, 5 John, 4 John, Charles, John 1), the first of the "Hayfields" Merrymans, was born 9 August, 1824, near Hereford, Baltimore County, Md., died 15 November, 1881, and is buried near Cockeysville (Sherwood Cemetery). He married in 1844, Ann Louisa Gittings (1825-1897), daughter of Elijah Bosley Gittings and Ann Lux Cockey. "Hayfields" came into the possession of the Merryman family through Nicholas Merryman Bosley, uncle of Elijah Bosley Gittings, the father of John Merryman's wife, Ann Louisa Gittings. Nicholas Merryman Bosley owned the estate in 1808, having acquired it by means of the purchase at sundry times, of certain tracts of land from various parties, until the farm comprised 560 acres. He put all the buildings on the place, and the mansion was finished in 1833. He then moved from the comfortable stone house. which he had previously built and occupied, to the more commodious structure. The first Merryman to occupy the estate was John, of Hayfields, (1824-1881.) Upon the demise of the latter's wife, Ann Gittings Merryman, in February, 1897, the property passed to their eldest son, in whom it was entailed.

In 1847, John Merryman, of Hayfields, was 3d Lieutenant of Baltimore County troops, and in 1861, 1st Lieutenant of the "Baltimore County Horse Guards." On 25 May, 1861, he was arrested and conveyed to Fort McHenry by the Federal authorities, and indicted for treason, but was discharged and never brought to trial. In 1870 he was elected State Treasurer of Maryland, and in 1874 was a member of the Maryland House of Delegates. John and Ann Louisa (Gittings) Merryman had issue:

Ann Gott Merryman, <sup>8</sup> b. 3 Aug. 1845. Elizabeth Merryman, b. 24 July 1849; d. 16 Mch. 1895; m. Lt. Com. Charles H. Black, U. S. N. Nicholas Bosley Merryman, b. 19 Feb. 1852; m. Willie Mc-

Closkev.

John Merryman, b. 5 Sept. 1854; d. 3 Nov. 1885.

David Buchanan Merryman, b. 9 May 1856; d. 11 Mch. 1900;

m. 23 July 1894, Bessie L. Montague.

Elijah Gittings Merryman, b. 10 Feby. 1858; d. 8 Apl. 1913;

m. Emily McLane.

- vii. William Duvall Merryman, b. 29 Nov. 1859; d. 14 Apl. 1915. viii. Louisa G. Merryman, b. 19 Sept. 1862: m. 25 Feby. 1913, James S. Nussear, Jr.
  - Roger B. Taney Merryman, b. 5 Dec. 1864; d. 5 July 1865. James McK. Merryman, b. 21 Oct. 1869; m. 4 Dec. 1891, Isabel Brown.
  - Laura F. Merryman, b. 21 Oct. 1870; m. Philip A. S. Franklin.
- Henry N. Merryman 7 (Nicholas Rogers, 5 John, 5 John, 4 John,3 Charles,2 John 1), is mentioned in the will of his

aunt, Elizabeth Merryman, who died in 1860 (Balt. Wills, Lib. 29, fol. 252). He married Mary Griffith, (1836-1891) and had issue:

- i. Harry G. Merryman, b. 9 Nov. 1861; m. 18 Dec. 1881.
- 40. Levi Merryman 7 (John, 6 Benjamin, 5 John, 4 John, 3 Charles,<sup>2</sup> John <sup>1</sup>), was born in December, 1795 (St. James), and died in 1868, aged 73 years. He married (1) 31 December, 1822, Mary Jessop (1805-1854), and

(2) Mary Carr. He had issue. By 1st wife:

- i. Rosalbert Merryman, m. Peter Bosley.
   ii. Georgianna Merryman, m. William Murray. iii. Charles Merryman, b. 1827; d. 4 June 1829.
- iv. Sarah Rogers Merryman, m. 29 May 1857, James A. Richard-

Clara A. Merryman, b. 1832; died 4 Aug. 1853. Cornelia Merryman, m. Isaac Price.

vi.

- vii. George Merryman, m. Fannie Powell. viii. Joseph R. Merryman, b. 1844; d. 16 Jany. 1866 (unm.). ix. Gussie V. Merryman, b. 14 Feby. 1845; d. 5 Mch. 1871 (unm.).
- 41. George H. Merryman 7 (Micajah, 6 Micajah, 5 Moses, 4 John, Charles, John 1), was born 8 September, 1831. He married, 27 October, 1858, Mary Ann Gorsuch, and had issue:
  - i. Rev. Charles Gorsuch Merryman,8 b. 31 Dec. 1860; d. 3 July 1894. ii. Micajah Merryman, b. 31 Dec. 1860; d. 5 Jany 1861.

iii. George Micajah Merryman, b. 9 Feb. 1863; d. 12 Dec. 1899. iv. Andrew Lowndes Merryman, b. 11 Dec. 1864; d. 19 Jany.

v. Harry Lee Merryman, b. 9 Feby. 1867.

vi. Samuel Howard Merryman, b. 10 Dec. 1868. vii. Laura V. Merryman, b. 20 Oct. 1870.

# (Concluded)

Note.—The compiler of this Merryman family genealogy will welcome any additions or corrections from readers of the Maryland Historical Magazine.

#### MERRYMAN FAMILY

Wanted-Any information tending to the identification of the following persons bearing the name of Merryman:

## Births (Balt. County)

1 February, 1846—Mary Louisa, daughter of Nicholas and Catherine Merryman.

18 March, 1848—Wesley Martin, son of Nicholas and Cath-

erine Merryman.

# Marriages (Balt. County)

29 January, 1761—Elizabeth Merryman and Jethro Lynch Wilkinson.

16 February, 1764—Temperance Merryman and Nathaniel

Harrington.

14 December, 1837—Elizabeth E. Merryman and Charles R. Powell.

# Marriage Licenses (Balt. County)

14 April, 1781—Nicholas Merryman and Mary Ogg.

- 29 April, 1786—Benj. Merryman, of Wm., and Cynthia Doyle.
  - 16 February, 1796—Nicholas Merryman and Mary Cornley.
  - 10 November, 1804—Rachel Merryman and Jacob Crouse. 3 June, 1816—Juliet Ann Merryman and Stephen Johnson.
  - 13 July, 1818—George Merryman and Eleanor Coleman.
  - 8 May, 1821—Elizabeth Merryman and Joseph Laurence.
  - 14 May, 1822—Thos. Merryman and Margaret Martin.
  - 14 August, 1822—Elias Merryman and Susan Lavely.
  - 27 February, 1823—Philemon Merryman and Maria Wilson.
  - 18 April, 1823—Caleb Merryman, Jr., and Louisa Andrews.
  - 19 November, 1813—Sam'l Merryman and Eliz. Shannaman.
  - 18 March, 1813-Jane Merryman and George Lee.